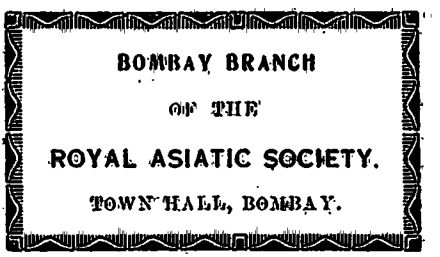

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Court of King James the First.

VOL. I.



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JAMES THE FIRST, KING OF ENGLAND.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT

OF

KING JAMES THE FIRST.

By LUCY AIKIN.

37058

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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R. AND A. TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
SHOE-LANE, LONDON.

TO JOHN AIKIN, M.D.

THE REVERED PARENT, DELIGHTFUL TEACHER

AND INDULGENT FRIEND,

WHOSE JUDGEMENT HAS BEEN HER SUREST GUIDE

IN THOSE STUDIES WHICH HIS EXAMPLE

INCITED HER TO PURSUE,

HIS DAUGHTER INSCRIBES THIS BOOK

IN AFFECTIONATE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

OF OBLIGATIONS

NOT TO BE REPAID.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In offering to the public the following work, the author deems it unnecessary to detain her readers with any preliminary remarks respecting its design or the mode of its execution. She has only to announce, that it is intended as a sequel to her Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth; and to express her hope that the indulgence which has attended her former labors will not be found to have deserted her on the present occasion, when many circumstances, some of them connected with the subject of these pages, others of a personal nature, conspire to increase her anxiety and her diffidence.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT OF KING JAMES I.

CHAPTER I.

1566 TO 1586.

Birth of James.—He is set on the throne by a protestant party.—Care taken of his education.—Buchanan his tutor; character of him.—His treatment of James.—Dedication of his book De jure regni; *account of this work.—Death of Buchanan.—Civil wars in Scotland.—James assumes the government.—His favorites the duke of Lenox and earl of Arran.—Ruin and death of regent Morton.—Malversation of the favorites.—Bad principles instilled into James.—Raid of Ruthven.—Conduct of the French and English sovereigns.—James released from control.—Return of Arran to power.—Mission of Walsingham.—The church humbled.—Oppression of Arran.—Rebellion.—King's person seized.—Arran disgraced.—Alliance with England.—James's commentary on the Apocalypse.*

ON the personal character of a sovereign whose authority is extensive, the manners of his court and even the political events of his reign in great measure depend; and character is principally formed

upon the impressions of childhood and early youth: in order, therefore, to estimate truly the destiny prepared for England by the accession of the first of the line of Stuart, the monarch must be traced back to the land of his forefathers and the period of his infancy.

Prince JAMES, only son of Mary queen of Scots by Henry lord Darnley her second husband, was born at Edinburgh castle on the nineteenth of June 1566; and in consequence of the dethronement of his mother, was proclaimed king of Scotland by the title of James VI. on July 29th 1567.

The revolution by which Mary had been deposed, and her infant son elevated into her place, was principally, though not entirely, effected by the chiefs of the presbyterian party associated under the appellation of the Lords of the Congregation. The catholic leaders, during the whole miserable remnant of Mary's days, continued to correspond with her, to exert themselves in a variety of ways for her deliverance, and to form schemes for her return to power: thus James, like Elizabeth, was placed by a political necessity at the head of a protestant party, and in fact held his crown by no other tenure than its continued preponderance.

The direction of his childhood appears to have devolved principally on the earl of Mar, governor of Stirling castle, a nobleman of high integrity, to whose faithful custody his mother had the prudence and affection to commit him, before she madly surrendered up to Bothwell her person and her reputation.

To

To imbue the mind of the prince as early and as deeply as possible with the principles of that religion which his situation thus imperiously called upon him to adopt, was naturally regarded as an object of high importance; it was also judged a desirable one that he should be early and diligently grounded in classical learning, and both appeared to be effectually secured by the appointment of the celebrated George Buchanan to the office of preceptor. Several circumstances, however, contributed to render the instructions of this eminent man and illustrious scholar less beneficial in their influence on the mind of the royal pupil, than the hopes of his patrons had anticipated.

Buchanan, born in 1506, was sixty years older than the king of Scots; a disparity certainly too great in a relation which bears so close an analogy to that of parent and child: the faculties indeed of the tutor had suffered nothing by the lapse of time; for his great work, the History of Scotland, was the product of a still later period of his life; but his original faults of temper appear to have been exasperated into habitual moroseness during the course of that long struggle which his fine genius and energetic character had been doomed to wage with penury and persecution through half the countries of Europe. That contempt also for the artificial distinctions of rank and fortune, so natural to men conscious of having elevated themselves from obscurity by the unaided force of native genius, was in Buchanan exaggerated into a species of republican

cynicism which often impelled him to trample on the pride of kings with greater pride of his own. It has been recorded, that he once took upon him to inflict on the young monarch a severe whipping, for persisting in disturbing him at his studies; and the general impression of him left upon the mind of his pupil may be collected from a speech used by James concerning a person in high place about him in England; "That he ever trembled at his approach, he minded him so of his pedagogue[a]." The tutor, on his part, confessed a failure when, being reproached for making the king a pedant, he replied, that it was the best he could make of him.

James was deficient neither in quickness of parts nor in application; and under the guidance of so able a master, he accumulated a mass of erudition which formed through life his pride and boast: but the original and irremediable defects of his nature, feebleness of judgement and frigidity of temperament, defeated all the nobler ends of his instructor. The most accomplished Latin poet and scholar of the age was unable to form him to elevation and purity of taste; the most intrepid and able champion of popular rights, could neither inspire him with due respect for the public will, nor warm his bosom with the sentiments of a patriot king. The last, however, was a point zealously, if not judiciously, labored by Buchanan, since it was expressly for the instruction of the king, then in his fourteenth year, that he pub-

[a] Osborn's *Advice to a Son.*

lished,

lished, in 1579, his learned Latin dialogue concerning the constitution of Scotland[a]; a work which called forth enthusiastic plaudits from one party, while it provoked the keenest invectives from the other. This piece, as an authentic record of the principles at this period maintained by that party in Scotland of which Buchanan was the oracle, appears worthy of a somewhat detailed examination.

It opens with a dedication to James, explaining that he had written it several years before as a defence of the actions of the party with whom he acted at the juncture; that the return of tranquillity had then caused him to suppress it; but lately meeting with it among his papers, and finding it to contain many things with which the monarch ought now to become acquainted, he had resolved to publish it, both as a testimony of his affection to his pupil, and as an admonition to him of his duty towards his people. "Many circumstances," he adds, "give me confidence that this attempt will not prove fruitless: your age, uncorrupted as yet by evil principles; a genius above your years, spontaneously urging you on to every splendid enterprise; a docility towards good counsel, whether offered by your instructors or by others, but united with an acuteness in examining and judging, which causes you in these matters to be little swayed by authority, unless supported by sound reasoning. I also observe in you a kind of instinctive abhorrence of adulation, that nurse of

[a] *De Jure Regni apud Scotos.*

tyranny

tyranny and pest of lawful rule, which teaches you to scorn the barbarisms and solœcisms of court language, no less than they are admired and affected by those self-constituted judges of all elegance who perpetually season their discourse with, 'your Majesty,' 'your Highness,' 'most illustrious,' and terms still more disgusting. Fearing notwithstanding lest evil custom, the fosterer of all vices, added to the seductions of which the senses are but too susceptible, might at some future time draw aside your youthful mind towards errors from which you are as yet preserved by the goodness of your own disposition and the cares of your instructors, I here offer to you, not a gentle or timid, but a bold, and even an importunate and authoritative monitor; who in these pliant years may guide you through the rocks of flattery, and, not content with warning, may, in case of any deviation, reprehend and lead you back: a monitor, to whom if you shall yield obedience, you will obtain tranquillity for the present, and for the future, everlasting glory."

The tone of the dialogue itself, written expressly in vindication of the dethronement of Mary, is perfectly in unison with this courageous and lofty dedication, and with the character of the author. The examples of antiquity, whether sacred or profane, were in this age regarded as of high authority in the decision of political, and even of legal questions; and Buchanan has been careful to fortify his argument by adverting to the most celebrated acts in vindication of freedom, recorded in the histories of Greece

Greece and Rome; and by abundant quotation of those glowing sentences in praise of liberty, and those bold assertions of the right and duty of tyrannicide, which rushed upon a memory rich in classic stores. He has also referred to such events in the Jewish annals as appeared to bear upon his subject; and he labors, with much earnestness and skill, to refute the arguments in favor of right divine and of passive obedience, deduced from certain texts in St. Paul's epistles and in other parts of the scriptures. With respect to Scotland, he makes a strong assertion of the authority anciently exercised by the people in the election of their kings; and he argues in defence of their inalienable right to protect themselves from tyranny by circumscribing their princes within the bounds of laws. From the history of that turbulent country, he also produces numerous examples of sovereigns deposed, banished, or put to death; on all which he pronounces judgement according to what he conceives the individual merits of the case.

With respect to the right of resistance, Buchanan lays down without hesitation the following maxims: That princes ought of right to be amenable for their private crimes to the ordinary tribunals of the land, in the same manner as the meanest individual; and that a refusal on their part to submit to such jurisdiction, authorizes *the wise and virtuous part of the citizens* to rise in arms, and to punish or dethrone them. Thus the deposition of Mary by the arms of the Lords of the Congregation, seconded by the impulse

pulse of popular indignation against her crime and that of Bothwell, is clothed in the attributes of formal as well as substantial justice.

It was immediately to the revolution thus defended that James was indebted for the possession of his crown; yet we cannot wonder that the doctrine of Buchanan should have sounded harshly in the ears of this representative of a long line of princes; or that, in spite of the instinctive abhorrence of adulation for which his preceptor had somewhat hastily given him credit, he should have turned with complacency towards persons disposed to address him in more soothing and courtly language. An instructor who made himself thus awful could not at the same time be the object of love; but James ought to have preserved so much respect for one of the first literary characters of Europe, and the founder of his own erudition, as neither to have suffered him to die in penury, nor to receive interment at the cost of the city of Edinburgh, which charged itself with this honorable burthen.

Buchanan expired in 1582, aged 76. Camden, who composed his annals of queen Elizabeth under the superintendence of James, and with sufficient obsequiousness to his royal patron and prompter, has recorded, that this eminent person, near the end of his life, expressed great compunction for what he had advanced against the regal prerogative, and especially against the honor of the queen of Scots. But the firmness and consistency of his character through life, and the philosophic compo-

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sure with which he met his end, discredit the courtly tale of the annalist, and corroborate an opposite account, which is as follows:—That when Buchanan, on his death-bed, was entreated by his friends to soften some passages of his history for fear of incensing the king; "Is not what I have said true?" asked he; they assented; "Then," said he, "I will stand his feud and that of all his kin; I am going shortly where very few kings are admitted."

In the year 1584, Buchanan's history and his dialogue on regal prerogative were prohibited by the English government, with other works reflecting on James, on his mother, and on the Scotish council.

During the civil wars which agitated Scotland under the successive regencies of the earls of Murray, Lenox, Mar, and Morton, the royal minor remained tranquil and secluded in Stirling castle; but in the year 1577 the earls of Athol and Argyle succeeded in depriving Morton of the regency, and, gaining access to the young king, they persuaded him, then in his twelfth year, to affect to take into his own hands the administration of the country. Morton shortly after repossessed himself of Stirling castle, and of the custody of James's person; yet a parliament, assembled in 1578, had the absurdity to confirm the king's premature assumption of manhood.

Thus invested with power unfit for his years, he was enabled to exhibit that propensity to favoritism which became his permanent and characteristic weakness,

weakness, by the honors and emoluments which he heaped upon his cousin Esme Stuart, created duke of Lenox: a young man distinguished by his personal graces and courtly accomplishments, and respectable in his private conduct, but totally ignorant of affairs, and obnoxious to the people by his religion, which they suspected to be that of Rome; by his French education, and by the secret understanding which he was believed to maintain with the formidable house of Guise. Nearly at the same time, the king also began to entertain an extraordinary affection for captain James Stuart, a man of the most profligate and daring character, whom he speedily advanced to the dignity of earl of Arran. By these two favorites, who for some time acted in concert, the ruin of Morton was long meditated; and it was finally accomplished in 1581, when this minister was brought to the scaffold, after a trial which was a mere mockery of justice, on an ill-founded charge of having been accessary to the murder of Darnley. Extraordinary efforts were made by queen Elizabeth to preserve the life of Morton, by whose wisdom and vigor James had been firmly maintained on the throne during several turbulent years of his minority, while the country was preserved in strict friendship with England. But her threats and remonstrances, as they failed to intimidate his enemies, served no other purpose than to hurry them on with greater fury to his destruction.

The only individual of weight sufficient to check them

them in their headlong career being thus removed, Lenox and Arran found themselves in possession of uncontrolled authority, which they began to exercise with the wantonness and insolence characteristic of those who wield the destinies of a nation by no better title than that of a conquest over the feebleness of the individual who personates the part of sovereign. They gratified their rapacity and their private animosities, by instituting arbitrary courts of justice all over the kingdom, which exacted fines of exorbitant severity from such landholders as were found guilty of neglecting even the most trifling of the burthensome forms attending feudal tenures. They exasperated both the clergy and the people by a violent attempt to revive episcopacy, now abolished by law, and by silencing in an arbitrary manner one of the popular ministers, who had dared in his pulpit to inveigh against them as the only authors of the miseries of the country. They appeared to seek occasions of provoking the queen of England, and of violating that alliance with her which the vital interests of Scotland required them to preserve. Lastly, they strangely sacrificed their own importance, together with the sovereignty of their master, by entering into negotiations with Mary for uniting her title with that of her son.

James was prevailed upon to reside almost constantly at the country seats of one or other of these favorites; and while they engaged him in amusements, and surrounded him with society which rendered

rendered him essentially contemptible, they flattered him with an imaginary dignity derived from the extravagant and unconstitutional notions of regal prerogative which they instilled into him with pernicious diligence.

But the nobility of Scotland, in whom the power of the country chiefly resided, were not of a temper long to endure the abuses of a government at once odious and feeble. In the autumn of 1582 they formed a confederacy, seized upon the person of the king at Ruthven castle, and after presenting to him a strong remonstrance on the mal-administration of his favorites, committed Arran to prison, and made it necessary for James to command Lenox to quit the kingdom. They even extorted from him a proclamation approving of their enterprise, declaring himself to be at full liberty, and forbidding any attempt on the part of his subjects at large, against the lords concerned in *the raid of Ruthven*. The queen of England in various ways lent effectual support to the associated nobles, whilst the assembly of the church and the convention of states separately and solemnly ratified their enterprise. Henry III. of France at this juncture ordered la Mothe Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to proceed to Scotland, with the view of rescuing if possible the king from thraldom, and reviving a French party in the country. But this emissary found himself watched with unceasing vigilance by the agents of the queen of England; and he also encountered so stern a reception from

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the presbyterians, who would not endure to behold in their capital an ambassador from a prince so deeply stained with the blood of their brother protestants, that his mission proved abortive. He quitted Scotland with speed; and James, who saw him depart with ineffectual regret, was compelled to disguise for the present his violent indignation at the control to which he found himself subjected.

In somewhat less than a year, a counterplot restored the king of Scots to freedom; and Sir James Melvil and other prudent counsellors gained his ear, and prevailed upon him, in the midst of his exultation on his deliverance, to conduct himself with moderation, and to tranquillize the minds of the Ruthven conspirators by an amnesty. They also endeavoured to prevent the return of Arran to court; but the importunities of the king to be permitted to see him but for one day at length prevailed. They met; James forgot his promise, and that worthless favorite was speedily restored to all the power of which he had been so deservedly despoiled. He easily prevailed upon the king to break his compulsory engagements towards the confederated lords, who speedily retired from court, perceiving that their ruin was resolved. On receiving a summons to surrender themselves prisoners, they fled to England, or to the continent, and were soon after, by a base artifice of Arran's, declared in their absence guilty of high treason.

It was partly with a view of preserving these noblemen that Elizabeth, in 1583, dispatched Walsingham

singham as her ambassador into Scotland: but his arguments made no impression on the king, who had been inspired with a vehement jealousy of English interference; and notwithstanding the advanced age of this minister, his dignity, and the formidable character of her whose person he represented, repeated affronts were offered him by the unthinking insolence of Arran and his creatures. It is believed, that Walsingham carried back to his mistress a more favorable report of the character and abilities of her young kinsman than after experience proved him to deserve. We are told, however, that he was at this time of opinion that the king was "either inclined to turn papist, or to be of no religion[a]." Arran, in fact, had made himself notorious "as the enemy of every thing decent and sacred[b];" from him, and the dissolute crew who followed him, James had probably already learned the habit of profane swearing and blasphemy which disgraced him through life; and it is possible that certain efforts of Campion the jesuit for his conversion to the Romish faith, might have produced at least a transient impression on his mind.

An unsuccessful attempt of the conspiring lords to re-establish their ascendancy, and again to displace the favorite, had the effect of bringing a great accession of strength to the party of the king; and

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[a] Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 7.

[b] Robertson's *History of Scotland*, book vi.

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he was now enabled to humiliate, by several severe statutes, the pride of the clergy, who had assumed an unbounded license of inveighing in their pulpits against the abuses of government and the vices of men in power, and who claimed, respecting every thing said or done in the discharge of what they were pleased to regard as their professional duty, an entire exemption from the cognisance of the civil power. The clerical body failed not, however, to enter their solemn protest against the statutes thus enacted, as being passed without the concurrence of their order; for it must not escape remark, that the presbyterian divines were at this period well disposed to regard themselves as legitimate heirs to all the prerogatives, sacred and civil, of their catholic predecessors.

Flushed with his double victory, over the church and over the associated nobles, and apprehending no check in his career of crime from a master equally weak and callous, Arran now urged on his course in that intoxication of mind which is the forerunner of destruction. He caused the king to heap upon him the offices of governor of Edinburgh and of Stirling castles; of lord chancellor,—to the injury of the earl of Argyle, who had the patent of that post for life,—and finally, of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He permitted his shameless wife, who had become such through a scandalous divorce from her former husband, openly to sell justice, and to make herself a party in almost every cause; and he grasped with insatiable rapacity at the inherit-

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ances of the nobles, whom, on their slightest opposition to his lawless will, he crushed by his tyranny. By means of spies and informers he held the whole country in dread, and caused innocent men to be put to death for feigned plots; he induced James to write a letter of great cruelty to his captive mother; and, to complete his assumptions, he claimed, not indeed without reason, a better title to the crown by descent than the king himself.

The monarch, devoted to frivolous amusements or useless studies, remained an unconcerned spectator of these enormities: but the banished nobles, sure of their welcome, returned in 1585 as the deliverers of their country; and finding themselves almost instantly at the head of 10,000 men, obliged James to capitulate in Stirling castle, possessed themselves without bloodshed of the fortresses of the kingdom, and banished Arran and his creatures from court for ever. A parliament, which was immediately summoned, stripped the detested minion of all his ill-gotten spoils, not excepting his title of nobility; but his life was spared, from a magnanimous disdain of his original and intrinsic insignificance.

James now contracted a fresh alliance with Elizabeth, for the avowed purpose of affording protection to the reformed faith from the machinations of the great catholic league of Europe. No other plea could have rendered the measure so acceptable to the Scotch presbyterians, whose zeal against popery

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was carried to a degree of fury, and who had lately conceived strong disgust and apprehension from the measures taken by the king for the partial restoration of the order of bishops, to which he retained during life a strong attachment. About the same time, the monarch thought proper to afford a more remarkable indication of his attachment to the faith of the reformers, by writing a Latin commentary on the Apocalypse, in which he professed to demonstrate that the pope is Antichrist. A work of such a nature, proceeding from the pen of a prince not yet twenty years of age, known only by his devotedness to the chase and to the society of buffoons and flatterers, and in public life by the tameness with which he sacrificed his own honor and the welfare of his people to the inordinate appetites of his favorites, must doubtless have excited no small astonishment in the whole church militant, to which it was with much solemnity addressed. No truer presage could have been afforded of the strange incongruities which were in future to distinguish the life and character of the royal author. James's eminent disregard of decorum, or rather, his total inability to resist importunities, was soon after displayed by his granting a pardon to Archibald Douglas, publicly known as one of his father's murderers, and appointing him, immediately afterwards, his ambassador to England.

CHAPTER II.

1586 TO 1603.

Death of queen Mary.—Administration of Maitland.—Lenity of James towards catholic conspirators.—His voyage to Denmark.—His own account of his motives.—His marriage.—Character of the queen.—King's professions respecting presbytery.—His zeal against witchcraft.—Rebellion of Bothwell.—Murder of Murray.—Fresh attempt of Bothwell; of the catholic lords.—Weak conduct of James.—Queen's faction.—Fresh rebellions.—Dolemán's conference.—James conciliates the catholics.—His contests with the Scotch church.—Letter to the pope.—Basilicon Doron.—Measures to secure the English succession.—Gowrie conspiracy.—Birth of prince Charles.—The queen of Scotland and the Gowries.—James's conduct towards her.—His transactions with the earl of Essex, and sentiments respecting him.—Sir Robert Cecil.—Earl of Northumberland, his letters to James.—Summary of James's Scotch reign and character.

THE sentence of death solemnly pronounced by an English tribunal, on the 25th of October 1586, against Mary queen of Scots, roused to momentary energy the reckless temper of her son. To preserve her life, and with it his own honor, he pleaded, negotiated, implored, and at length menaced. But the cause was betrayed by his new favorite Gray, whom he dispatched into England on this momentous affair; and when the irrevocable deed was done, Elizabeth found little difficulty in appeasing

appeasing James, by a judicious mixture of intimidation and cajolery. Gray, however, was banished on discovery of his perfidy; and by some happy accident Maitland, a man of sense and conduct, rose to the office of chancellor and the influence of prime minister. To him, probably, the chief praise is due of the steadiness with which James adhered to his alliance with England during the trying year 1588; when Philip II. exerted all his efforts to gain him over to his party. But he relapsed into weakness when, on discovery of a formidable and atrocious conspiracy of several catholic noblemen, partly for the purpose of aiding the king of Spain in a design of invading England through Scotland, he treated the offenders with an excess of lenity by which they were emboldened again and again to attempt the seizure of his person and the overthrow of his government.

James's voyage, in the winter of the year 1589, through tempestuous seas to Denmark, for the purpose of convoying home his bride, was a sally so little to be anticipated from his timid and indolent temper, combined with his known indifference to female charms, that it appears to have perplexed not a little all to whom his character has furnished matter of speculation; but a statement on the subject drawn up by himself, and left behind him at his departure, has lately been discovered in some abridged records of the Scotch privy council, which clears up the mystery, whilst it affords a rich display of the style and character of the monarch. The

preamble runs thus:—" In respect I know that the motion of my voyage at this time will be diversly scansit upon, the misinterpreting whereof may tend as well to my great dishonour, as to the wrangous blame of innocents, I have been moved to set down the present declaration with my own hand..... As to the causes, I doubt not but it [is] manifestly known to all how far I was generally found fault with by all men for the delaying so long of my marriage; the reasons were, that I was alane, without fader or moder, brither or sister, king of this realme, and heir apperand of England. This my nakedness made me to be weak and my enemies stark; ane man was as na man, and the want of hope of succession breeds disdain.... Thir reasons, and innumerable others hourly objected, moved me to hasten the treaty of my marriage; for as to my own nature, God is my witness, I could have abstained langer, nor the well of my patrie could have permitted."— Having cleared this point, his majesty proceeds to relate, with characteristic prolixity, the manner of his proceedings in this business; laying particular emphasis upon the circumstance of his having spontaneously formed the resolution of sailing to meet his bride, then detained by stress of weather in Norway, " not ane of the haill council being present," and upon the cunning with which he had disguised his determination. " As I kept it generally closs from all men," he adds, " so I say, upon mine honur, I kept it sa from the chancellor, as I never was wont to do any secrets of my weightiest affairs;

affairs; two reasons moving me thereto: first, because I know that gif I made him on the council thereof, he had been blamed of putting it in my head, which had not been his duty;....and therefore, remembering that invidious and unjust burding he daily bears of *leading me by the nose*, as it were, to all his appetaytes, as if I were ane unreasonable creature, or a bairn that could do nothing of myself, I thought it pity to be the cause of heaping further unjust slander on his head.... Thus far I speak for his part, as well as for my own honor's sake, that I be not unjustly slandered as *an irresolute asse*, who can do nothing of himself; as also, that the honesty and innocency of that man be not unjustly and untruly reported and reproached; and as for my part, what moved me ye may judge by that whilk I have already said; besides the shortness of the way, the surety of the passage, being clean of all sands, foirlands or sic like dangers; the harbouries in these parts sa suir, and na foreign fleets resorting upon these seas." Thus chivalrous were the motives and sentiments of the youthful monarch[a]!

The object of his choice, Anne, second daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark, appears to have been a lady not greatly distinguished by personal graces, and essentially deficient in the mental endowments which might have formed his domestic happiness or added to his public respectability. A

[a] *Secret History of the Court of James I.* vol. ii. 332 et seq.

courteous

courteous and affable manner recommended her in some degree to the favor of the people; but in the early years of their connexion her conduct appears frequently to have excited the jealousy, both political and conjugal, of her husband, while her domineering temper disturbed his repose, and her passion for show and expense added to the embarrassment of his finances.

The stream of popular opinion in Scotland ran so strongly in favor of presbytery, that the efforts of the king for the support of the episcopal order proved for the present totally unavailing; and it was abolished by public opinion. On the solemn occasion of the coronation of the queen, which took place in 1590, not a single bishop gave his attendance, and the ceremony was performed by Robert Bruce, a leading minister of the Scotish church. In the same year, James was compelled to sanction the measures of a general assembly for the formation of an ecclesiastical establishment on a model purely presbyterian; on which occasion, resolved, as it should appear, to make a virtue of necessity, "he stood up, with his bonnet off and his eyes lifted up to heaven, and said he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel; and in such a place as to be king of such a church, the sincerest kirk in the world:" adding, "As for our neighbouring kirk of England, their service is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings." He ended with an exhortation to all classes to "stand to their purity,"

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and a protestation that "during life he would maintain the same[a]. How he was inwardly inclined towards the observance of this promise will amply appear in the sequel.

A firmer hand than that of James was required to hold in check the fierce and lawless nation over which it was his destiny to rule. Under his lax rather than lenient administration, murders and outrages of every kind became horribly frequent, and the hereditary feuds of the nobles broke out afresh with a fury almost unprecedented in the Scotish annals. Witchcraft seemed to be the only crime which appeared to him worthy of condign punishment; for this imaginary enormity numbers were apprehended, tortured, and put to death; and it was on a ridiculous charge of having consulted wizards respecting the king's death, and for the purpose of raising the storms which had impeded the passage of the royal pair from Denmark, that a spurious descendant of James V., lately created earl of Bothwell, was seized and imprisoned. This profligate and turbulent man, who had already been concerned with the catholic rebels so inconsiderately pardoned, escaped from his confinement, and by an attempt to seize James in his own palace, had nearly revenged upon him at one stroke both the facility which had made his authority contemptible, and the superstitious credulity which was rendering him barbarous and unjust.

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[a] Calderwood's *Church History*.

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The king was rescued with difficulty by his attendants and by the citizens of Edinburgh; Bothwell fled northward; and James rashly or treacherously gave to the earl of Huntly, one of the pardoned catholics, a commission to bring to his presence the earl of Murray, who was said to have been concerned in this attempt. Huntly was the private enemy of the earl of Murray, and meeting with some resistance in the attempt to seize him, he set fire to his house, and murdered him during the confusion. The young nobleman thus sacrificed was the idol of the people, partly from his own promising qualities, and partly from the reverence entertained for the memory of his grand-father, popularly called the Good Regent. The cry, therefore, for justice on his assassin was loud and general; yet James did not scruple to appropriate to himself the principal odium of this ferocious deed, by screening the offender even from the formality of a trial. An obscure murmur arose, traceable to no certain source, that the king had been moved by conjugal jealousy to issue secret orders to Huntly for this assassination; and a dirge exists, composed for "the bonny earl of Murray," in which he is expressly styled "the queen's love[a]."

In the following year a second attempt was made by Bothwell on the person of the king, from which he owed his preservation to the vigilance and courage of his faithful servant sir Robert Melvil. A

[a] Percy's *Reliques*, vol. ii. p. 210.

fresh

fresh conspiracy of the catholic lords also re-awakened the zeal and the apprehensions of the people. The ministers of Edinburgh, in the casual absence of the king from his capital, convoked an assembly of the peers, to consult on the means of preserving the country from a threatened restoration of the Romish religion by force of Spanish arms; and James, hurried along unresistingly by the popular impulse, in which he was far from cordially sympathising, was surprised into some vigorous demonstrations against the conspirators; but having brought one of them to the scaffold, and at the head of an army compelled the earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus, leaders of the enterprise, to retire into the north, while he placed garrisons in their castles and exacted oaths of allegiance from their vassals, he returned to his usual system of indulgence, or rather of impunity. Queen Elizabeth on this occasion exhorted him to a vigorous prosecution of the catholic traitors; but he dexterously evaded her importunities by requesting from her a small supply of money for the purpose; which she refused, from an apprehension, probably not ill-founded, that he would divert it to other purposes.

The easy temper of James had early encouraged his consort to place herself at the head of an opposition party at court, which now proceeded without remorse to the most violent insults upon his person and authority. Hostility to the influence of chancellor Maitland formed the bond of union of this faction; and the queen, by constant importunities, prevailed

prevailed with her husband to banish this favorite minister for a time from court: but impatient of his absence, and greatly needing his counsels, he in 1593 recalled him. Instantly, the whole family or name of Stuart, already enlisted in the party of the queen, combined to prevent the reinstatement of the chancellor; and they even went so far as to associate with themselves the incorrigible traitor Bothwell; against whom even James had become implacable. Headed by this ruffian and followed by an armed train, they suddenly burst into the royal apartments, and compelled the king, who was deserted by his courtiers, to grant them Bothwell's pardon and such other conditions as they were pleased to dictate. For a short time, their sovereign was in effect their prisoner; but they wanted power to detain him permanently in a bondage so ignominious, and under which he exhibited extreme impatience; and a convention of nobles at Stirling, before which the conspirators were unable to prevent James from making his appearance, finally pronounced this outrage on majesty, high treason. Bothwell, notwithstanding, presuming on the countenance which Elizabeth, much to her reproach, had constantly afforded to his enterprises, rejected with disdain the pardon which was offered him on condition of quitting the kingdom; but after failing in a fresh attempt to possess himself of the person of James, he was compelled to retreat to the border.

The respite thus afforded to the unhappy prince was transient: in the ensuing year, 1594, his life was brought

brought into imminent peril by a new enterprise of Bothwell's: and he was obliged to purchase the aid of the citizens of Edinburgh by a solemn promise of proceeding with the utmost rigor of law against the catholic lords; with whom Bothwell, after the failure of his last attempt, had been driven to unite himself. A parliament assembled soon after, was in consequence authorized to pass an act of attainder against these conspirators, and the Highland clans were armed to put the sentence in force. On the defeat of these irregulars by the rebels, James was roused to take the field in person with a small body of troops which he had raised by pawning the crown jewels. The clans at enmity with the catholic earls came in quickly to his aid; and the insurgent leaders, conscious of their inability to meet him in open fight, and already reduced to extreme distress, implored, and at length obtained, his license to banish themselves the kingdom.

James was at this juncture less than ever disposed to drive the catholic insurgents to extremities; for the celebrated work entitled "Doleman's conference on the next succession to the crown of England," of which father Parsons was the sole or principal author, had now made its appearance; and the king began to tremble for his reversionary sceptre. "The conference," says an eminent catholic writer of the present day, "turns upon these positions:—that the claim of succession to any government by nearness of blood, is not established by the law of nature or by the divine law, but only by the human and

and positive laws of every particular commonwealth; and consequently may upon just causes be altered by the same;—that this is clear from history;—that the want of the true religion is a just cause for excluding the heir apparent;—and that, under all circumstances, the infanta of Spain had the fairest pretensions to succeed queen Elizabeth in the throne of England. Every true whig must admire Doleman's discussions of the first point;—every man of learning and antiquarian must be pleased with his discussion of the second; the king of Spain could not have rewarded too munificently his discussions of the third and fourth[a]."

The effects of this powerful piece on the minds of the catholics of England, if exasperated by fresh severities against their Scotish brethren, appeared to James so much to be dreaded, that to conciliate this party became henceforth a primary object of his policy: regardless therefore of the repetition of disturbance and civil contest certain to result from the speedy return of the Romish lords, and of the obloquy to which his measures could not fail of exposing him amongst his presbyterian subjects, he immediately began to meditate the recall of the turbulent chiefs whom he had so lately driven into merited exile; and as an earnest of further favor, he permitted their wives to reside in their houses, and to collect the rents of their forfeited estates.

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[a] Butler's *Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics*, vol. i. p. 286.

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By these and similar proceedings, at a period when hot alarms of a Spanish invasion again prevailed, the jealousy of the national church was quickly roused; and a general assembly being convened to take into consideration the state of affairs, a public fast was proclaimed, and the covenant for the preservation of the reformed religion, originally instituted during the alarms of the year 1588, was solemnly renewed. A committee likewise waited on the king to urge him to take further precautions against the papists. Notwithstanding these strong manifestations of the spirit of the people, James proceeded to license the banished lords, who had already returned in secret, to reside unmolested on their estates, on the sole condition of giving security for their peaceable behaviour. Filled with rage and affright at a step which they regarded as ominous of nothing less than the re-establishment of Romish idolatry and superstition, the committee of the general assembly met, and took measures of counteraction of the most formidable character. They directed circular letters to all the presbyteries, warning them of their dangers, and urging them to defend their rights; they ordered the publication from every pulpit of the sentence of excommunication against the catholic leaders, and directed, that by a summary process the same penalty should be denounced against all suspected favorers of their cause. This done, they appointed a standing committee of the church and broke up.

James, considerably alarmed at these proceedings, made

made some efforts towards a compromise; but they failed through the bigoted obstinacy of the clergy, who declared that no submissions should induce them to withdraw their sentence of excommunication against the popish lords, whose crime, being that of idolatry, ought to be considered as irremissible and punished by the magistrate with death. After this, the quarrel proceeded with increased exasperation on both sides. A minister at St. Andrews named Black, remarking on the indulgence of the king towards the catholic lords, declared that by this action he had revealed the treachery of his heart; and that all kings were *"the Devil's bairns;"* with other expressions of a highly undutiful and indecorous nature; for which he was summoned to answer before the privy council. Black refused to appear to the citation; and in this refusal he was supported by the whole clerical body, who regarded it as their brightest privilege to comment, with whatever rudeness and virulence they thought fit, on the actions of their rulers. The king in anger ordered the council of the church to disperse; Black was sentenced in contempt, and his punishment was referred by the privy council to the king, who, after attempting several schemes of compromise, which were frustrated through faults on both sides, banished the contumacious minister beyond the river Spey during pleasure, and required all the clergy to sign a bond, by which they obliged themselves to submit in civil matters to the civil judicature.

A furious tumult in Edinburgh was the immediate

ate result of this vigorous step on the part of the king, whose life was exposed in the course of it to imminent peril. By the interference of the magistrates, however, the storm was laid almost as suddenly as it had risen; and James, without waiting to receive a petition prepared for him by the leaders of the malcontents, retired before day to Linlithgow, in order to concert measures of chastisement against his rebellious capital. The citizens, intimidated by his menaces, prepared to desert the contest in which the headlong zeal or haughty pretensions of their pastors had involved them; the nobles refused to fight the battles of the church, and rallied round the throne: James assumed courage to direct the seizure of those ecclesiastics who had acted the part of incendiaries between himself and his people; and they were reduced to consult their safety by a hasty flight towards the English border.

Fortified by this triumph, the king proceeded to take a severe vengeance on the city of Edinburgh; from which, after stripping it without mercy of its most valuable privileges, he exacted a large sum as the price of reconcilement: what was of more consequence to him, he brought the clergy themselves into so submissive a frame, that two successive general assemblies gave their assent to several important regulations, by which the independent jurisdiction of the clerical body was in a manner yielded up, and that "fierce democraty" tamed into obedience. James even made an effort, in 1598, to procure the readmission of dignitaries of the church into parliament; but such

such was the vehement outcry raised by the pastors against this scheme, in which, through many artful disguises, they espied, according to the phrase of one of their number, "the horns of the mitre," that its completion was deferred to a more favorable opportunity. It was in vain that James had declared in his speech to parliament in 1598, that "he minded not to bring in papistical or Anglicane bishops[a];" a decided hostility to the presbyterian discipline marked all his projects and all his actions; and his earnestness in procuring from the general assembly the absolution of the catholic earls from their sentence of excommunication, assisted in reviving the suspicion of his cherishing a secret partiality for the religion of his mother. These suspicions, however, appear to have been in one sense ill-founded: James, as a polemic, was probably sincere in maintaining the doctrine of the reformers; but as a prince, he dreaded and abhorred the republican spirit of presbyterianism; and as expectant of the English crown, he was at this time politically bent on conciliating the favor of the church of Rome at whatever expense of protestant consistency. With a view to this object, he had restored the temporalities of the see of Glasgow to Beaton the catholic archbishop, who had fled his country at the Reformation; and appointed him his ambassador to France. What was much more flagrant, he addressed a courtly letter to the pope himself, in which, after many professions of regard, and even

[a] Calderwood, p. 418.

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of gratitude, to the holy father, he declared himself firmly resolved to treat the catholics with indulgence; and, for the sake of promoting a more frequent and intimate intercourse between Scotland and Rome, solicited the pope to confer the rank of cardinal on Drummond bishop of Vaison. This letter was discovered and copied by the master of Gray, who now resided at Rome in the character of an English spy, and conveyed with all speed to queen Elizabeth. Shocked at the sight, she immediately dispatched Bowes privately to remonstrate on this subject with James; but, happily for this prince, who would otherwise have had every thing to dread from popular fury, the letter was never made public till some years after James had quitted Scotland. It was then printed by cardinal Bellarmine, in the controversy respecting the oath of allegiance, and was never disavowed by its royal author.

A work intituled *Basilicon Doron,* which was published by James during this year, being a collection of precepts and maxims in religion, in morals, and in the arts of government, addressed to his eldest son prince Henry, served to exhibit in a clearer light the views and sentiments of the monarch.

In speaking of offences to be irremissibly punished with death, he says, "Here would I also eke another crime to be unpardonable if I should not be thought partial: but the fatherly love I bear you will make me break the bounds of shame in opening it unto you. It is then the false and unreverent writing and speaking of malicious men against your parents

rents and predecessors; ye know the command in God's law, 'Honor your father and your mother;' and consequently, sen ye are the lawful magistrate, suffer not both your princes and your parents to be dishonored by any; especially sith the example also toucheth yourself, in leaving thereby to your successors the measure of that which they shall mete out again to you in your like behalf. I grant we have all our faults, which privately between you and God, should serve you for examples to meditate upon and mend in your person; but should not be a matter of discourse to others whatsoever. And sith ye are come of as honorable predecessors as any prince living, repress the insolence of such as under a pretence to tax vice in the person, seek craftily to stain the race, and to steal the affection of the people from their posterity: for how can they love you that hate them whom of ye are come?.....It is therefore a thing monstrous to see a man love the child and hate the parents: as, on the other part, the infaming and making odious of the parent is the readiest way to bring the son in contempt. And for conclusion of this point, I may also allege my own experience: for besides the judgements of God that with my eyes I have seen fall upon all them that were chief traitors to my parents, I may justly affirm, I never found yet a constant biding by me in all my straits, by any that were of perfite age in my parents days, but only by such as constantly bode by them; I mean specially by them that served the queen my mother." The reader should bear in mind

mind that the merit of adhering to queen Mary's title *against her son* belonged exclusively to the Roman catholics in Scotland.

Proceeding to treat of the disorders of the church, James issues the following manifesto against the spirit of presbyterianism:—"But the reformation in Scotland, being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinately done by a popular tumult and rebellion of such as blindly were doing the work of God,.....and not proceeding from the prince's order,.....some fiery-spirited men in the ministry got such a guiding of the people at that time of confusion, as finding the gust of government sweet, they begouth to fancy to themselves a democratic form of government: and having (by the iniquity of the time) been over well baited upon the wrack, first of my grandmother and next of mine own mother, and after usurping upon the liberty of the time in my long minority, settled themselves so fast upon that imagined democracy, as they fed themselves with the hope to become *Tribuni plebis*:.....And for this cause, there never rose faction in the time of my minority, nor trouble sensyne, but they that were upon that factious part were ever careful to persuade and allure these unruly spirits among the ministry to spouse that quarrel as their own: where-through I was oft-times calumniated in their popular sermons, not for any evil or vice in me, but because I was a king, which they thought the highest evil.....And yet for all their cunning, whereby they pretended to distinguish the lawful-

ness of the office from the vice of the person, some of them would sometimes snapper out well grossly with the truth of their intentions; informing the people that all kings and princes were naturally enemies to the liberty of the church, and could never bear patiently the yoke of Christ: with such sound doctrine fed they their flocks. And because the learned, grave, and honest men of the ministry were ever ashamed and offended with their temerity and presumption,.....there could be no way found out so meet in their conceit,.....for maintaining their plots, as parity in the church:.....parity the mother of confusion, and enemy to unity, which is the mother of order:.....Take heed therefore, my son, to such puritans, very pests in the church and commonweal; whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths or promises bind; breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies; aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my testament it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Border thieves greater ingratitude and moe lies and vile perjuries, then with these fanatic spirits: And suffer not the principals of them to brook your land, if ye like to sit at rest; except ye would keep them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife[a]."

[a] *Basil. Doron*, book ii. passim.

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The king proceeds to point out the restoration of bishops, and their re-admission into parliament, as the sole remedy for this national pest; concluding by an earnest exhortation to his son to complete whatever part of this good work he should himself be obliged to leave unfinished.

That James should have ventured to publish sentiments like these in the face of the Scotish nation, may at first sight appear inconsistent with the character of timidity popularly imputed to him. But the monarch was not less irascible than fearful; and it is certain that the infirmity of his nature, whatever might be its degree, never restrained him from measures of a strong and even dangerous character against the church of Scotland, which he constantly regarded with unmeasured, and certainly not unprovoked, hostility; and which policy as well as passion prompted him to oppose in its most cherished pretensions. With respect to the *Basilicon Doron*, however, it should be remembered that the sentiments inculcated in it were adapted to serve his purposes with the English episcopalians no less than with the catholics both of England and Scotland; and for the sake of securing the suffrages of these important portions of the two nations, it was worth while to risk any thing short of an insurrection on the part of the Scotish presbyterians.

The means, in fact, of securing his English succession now occupied almost without intermission the thoughts of the impatient king, who had long since begun to number the days of his illustrious

kinswoman. Nothing marks more strongly the littleness of James's character and his natural propensity to artifice, than the numberless and endless mazes of futile intrigue in which he imagined it conducive to his great end to involve himself. Besides addressing a needless mission to Henry IV. of France, whose determination to use no efforts for impeding the union of the British crowns was already fixed on the solid basis of political wisdom, James took the trouble of sending an ambassador to the king of Spain, his competitor and irreconcileable enemy; and another to the pope, who, still believing him to be at the bottom of his heart a protestant, remained inflexibly hostile to his title. Nor was there any petty protestant prince in the north of Germany allied to him by his marriage, to whom he did not deem it requisite to direct a solemn embassy for the purpose of explaining his right, and of soliciting such aid as each of these redoubtable potentates might be able and willing to lend, in the event of his encountering resistance from the machinations of a popish faction.

It was with better judgement that, in the year 1599, James dispatched into England as his ambassador, Edward Bruce, lord of Kinloss, an able and accomplished minister, who, though unsuccessful in obtaining from Elizabeth the long desired public recognition of her successor, served however his master's interests in no inconsiderable degree, by procuring from many persons of rank and consequence assurances of their firm attachment to the

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king of Scots, and their resolution to support his title against all competitors.

On the 5th of August 1600, occurred that extraordinary event known by the name of the Gowrie conspiracy; an enigma in the life and character of James which seems to defy solution. The only indubitable facts of the case are the following:—That the king, who at this time was resident at Falkland, going out to hunt, was joined by Alexander Ruthven, brother of the earl of Gowrie; and after the chase, followed by a small train, accompanied him to the mansion of his brother at Perth; and that an affray arose in the house, in which three of the king's attendants were wounded; and on the other side, the earl of Gowrie and Alexander Ruthven were slain. The account given by James of this transaction was, that Ruthven had decoyed him to the house, by inviting him to examine in person a suspicious stranger who had been taken near his brother's house with a pot of foreign gold under his cloak. That for this pretended purpose, Ruthven had conducted him alone to a retired apartment, where he found a man in armour, with a sword and dagger by his side: that as he stood confounded at this sight, Ruthven snatched the dagger of the man in armour, and holding it to the king's breast, bade him remember how unjustly he had put his father the earl of Gowrie to death; adding, that the king was now his prisoner, and that if he did not submit silently, and without any attempt at resistance, he would instantly revenge upon him the blood of his father.

father. That the man in armour remained trembling, silent and neutral, during this scene; that Ruthven, wishing to consult with his brother, quitted the room, leaving the king in custody of this person; but having previously assured his royal prisoner that his life was in no danger if he forbore to raise an alarm, and having also exacted from him an oath that he would remain quiet during his absence.—That his attendants becoming in the mean time uneasy at his absence, a servant of Gowrie's was sent into the room where they were sitting, to inform them that the king had ridden off towards Falkland; on which they all hurried out, calling for their horses. That Ruthven meantime, returning to his prisoner, declared that there was no help; he must now die; and prepared to bind his hands: that on his resisting a fierce struggle ensued, during which the man in armour stood motionless as before: that he dragged Ruthven towards a window, which he had previously persuaded the man in armour to open; and that his cries of "Treason!" "Murder!" were then heard by his attendants; who rushed into the house, burst the doors, rescued him from the assassins, double their own number, and finally slew the two brothers.

It seems needless to point out the glaring improbabilities, not to say absurdities, of this story; they struck so forcibly a nobleman to whom James related it, immediately after his return from Perth, that he could not restrain himself from remarking aloud, that it was a strange tale, provided it were a true.

true one. The first accounts of the affair transmitted to Edinburgh appear to have been heightened with many other preposterous and contradictory, and some even miraculous circumstances; insomuch that the clergy of Edinburgh,—not indeed the most candid interpreters of the actions of James,—being required by the privy council immediately to collect their congregations, and after relating all the particulars, to return solemn thanks to God for the providential escape of the king, replied,—that they were willing indeed to give thanks for the safety of their sovereign, but that they must be excused from entering into any details, and from promulgating in the house of truth things which appeared still dubious.

Some days afterwards James returned to Edinburgh, and commanded the minister of his own chapel to harangue the people at the public cross on the subject of the Gowrie conspiracy; himself confirming in their hearing all the particulars. He also caused a narrative of the affair to be published; but in spite of his utmost efforts, the clergy as a body, and not a few of the laity, persisted in their incredulity. Finally however, partly by arguments, partly by threats, the preachers were all convinced, or silenced, except their leader Robert Bruce; against whom his majesty was pleased to maintain his own veracity by the unanswerable arguments of deprivation and banishment.

A very different spirit was manifested by the parliament of Scotland. The dead bodies of the two brothers being produced before this supreme tribu-

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nal, as required by an absurd and barbarous custom of the country, they were indicted of high treason, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be dismembered as traitors. It was even enacted, that the surname of Ruthven should be abolished; and that a solemn thanksgiving should be observed for ever on the anniversary of the king's deliverance from this foul conspiracy. Notwithstanding these legislative testimonials to the treason of the brothers, it must be observed, that the witnesses produced on this trial contradicted, in many important circumstances, both the printed narrative and each other. In particular, the earl of Gowrie's steward, having been prevailed upon by a promise of pardon to confess himself to be the man in armour,—who was said to have escaped unobserved during the fray,—laid claim to a much larger share of merit in the preservation of the king than his majesty himself had assigned him. He declared that it was he who wrested the dagger from Ruthven, and who prevented him from binding the king's hands and from stopping his mouth; and that during the struggle, and not before, he opened the window. He also declared that he was left in total ignorance of the purpose for which he was armed and placed in that solitary apartment. The unaccountable circumstance of Ruthven's quitting the king after having threatened him, and when it was entirely in his power to take his life, was rendered utterly incredible by its being made apparent, that the brothers neither had nor could have had any interview at that juncture. No

accomplices

accomplices in the plot were discovered; nor could any rational motive be assigned, on the parts of Gowrie and Ruthven, for an attempt so desperate as that of assassinating, or detaining prisoner in their own unfortified mansion, a king of full age, not on the whole odious to his subjects, and against whose authority there subsisted at this time no insurrection, or organized faction. On the other hand, nothing appears more incredible than that James, attended by a mere hunting party, should have entered the house of Gowrie for the purpose of assassinating him or his brother. The extraordinary favors heaped by the monarch, during the whole of his after-life, upon those persons who were present at the transaction and alone acquainted with the real facts, might equally bear the opposite interpretations, that they had been his accomplices in a great crime, or his deliverers from a formidable danger: but his extreme anxiety to cause his own narrative of the affair, with all its incongruities about it, to be implicitly received by his people, and the violent and arbitrary manner in which he thought proper to chastise the incredulity of Bruce, seem scarcely susceptible of a favorable interpretation. The proceedings held several years afterwards with respect to the confessions of one Sprot, supposed to have been concerned in this conspiracy, will be considered in their place; at present it is sufficient to observe, that in the judgement of the loyal archbishop Spottiswood, they concluded nothing.

On the whole, it is impossible, for various reasons,

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to believe that James went to the house of Gowrie for the purpose of attacking the brothers, or that he caused them to be slain without some immediate provocation; but it seems nearly certain, that for unknown reasons he distorted or disguised the real circumstances of the transaction, and concealed the most material ones.

On the 9th of November 1600, the day on which the bodies of the earl of Gowrie and his brother were dismembered, in pursuance of the posthumous sentence passed upon them, the queen of Scotland was delivered, in the castle of Dumbarton, of her second son Charles, afterwards king of Great Britain. The infant was so weakly, that it was judged necessary to perform without delay the rite of baptism;—it is referred to the reader how far this circumstance, combined with the day of the birth, may be regarded as corroborating the surmises conveyed in the following passage of a letter addressed by sir Henry Neville to sir Ralph Winwood, then resident in a diplomatic capacity at Paris. "Out of Scotland we hear that there is no good agreement, but rather an open diffidence, between the king of Scots and his wife; and many are of opinion, that the discovery of some affection between her and the earl of Gowrie's brother, who was killed with him, was the truest cause and motive of all that tragedy[a]." That a close intimacy continued to subsist between the queen of Scotland and the surviving members of

[a] Winwood's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 274.

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the Ruthven family, appears from a letter written by Nicholson, a political agent of queen Elizabeth in Scotland, and dated September 22nd 1602. After mentioning the return of two younger brothers of Gowrie into Scotland, he adds; "The coming in of these two, and the queen of Scots dealing with them, and sending away and furnishing Mrs. Beatrix, their sister, with such information as sir Thomas Erskine has given, hath bred great suspicion in the king of Scots that they come not in but upon some dangerous plot." In another letter Nicholson says; "The day of my writing last, Mrs. Beatrix Ruthven was brought by the lady Paisley and mistress of Angus, as one of their gentlewomen, into the court in the evening, and stowed in a chamber prepared for her by the queen's direction; where the queen had much time and conference with her.—Of this the king got notice, and showed his dislike thereof to the queen, gently reproving her for it, and examining quietly of the queen's servants of the same, and of other matters thereunto belonging, with such discretion and secrecy as requires such a matter[a]." On what plea the queen justified or excused her conduct does not appear; but we find that James, soon afterwards, had thought proper to resume towards her the customary demonstrations of harmony and affection. One of the Ruthvens, however, was afterwards committed to the Tower of London, and by an act of mere despotism detained

[a] Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 477, thirteenth edit. 8vo.

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as a state prisoner for many years withou ttrial or public accusation.

The affairs of the earl of Essex agitated with contending hopes and fears the whole court of queen Elizabeth from Michaelmas-day 1599, the epoch of his unexpected return from Ireland, to the conclusion of the following year; nor could his character, his projects and his fate, fail to excite an anxious interest in the bosom of the king of Scots. Intent as the queen of England at present appeared on making her offending favorite feel the weight of her displeasure, it was still generally believed, that, according to her own expression, it was her purpose to chastise and not to ruin; and should he deign to propitiate her by humbly kissing the rod, the return of her affection might speedily, it was supposed, restore him to his accustomed place of love and trust. Nor did it appear likely that he would rest even here: as the affection of the queen merged in dotage, he might rather be expected to elevate himself on the ruin of his enemies and competitors to the absolute dictatorship of her court and kingdom. Essex was at the same time the favorite also of the soldiery and the idol of the people; and as his descent from the line of Plantagenet was frequently insisted upon by the more zealous of his partisans, James might easily be led to contemplate him as an eventual competitor of no despicable pretensions.

But Essex, a short time previously to the breaking out of his rash and fatal revolt, had sought to obviate the jealousy which he anticipated on the part of the

the king of Scots, and even to engage his co-operation in certain designs of his own for banishing his enemies from the presence of the queen. For this purpose he had dispatched into Scotland his follower Henry Lee, with instructions to assure that prince of his inviolable attachment to his title, and to announce to him his purpose of resorting even to measures of force, if necessary, in order to extort from the queen a public recognition of his majesty as her successor; a recognition, which, according to Essex, she was withheld from making by the artifices of Cecil and Raleigh, whom he represented, certainly in opposition to his own better knowledge, as secret partisans of the claim of the infanta. James received the advances of the earl with every demonstration of cordiality, and a frequent correspondence was established between them. Shortly after, the deputy of Ireland, lord Montjoy, sent a confidential person to James to inquire whether he might rely on his approbation in conducting the Irish army over to England, according to the desire of the earl of Essex, for the purpose of overawing the queen.

James, besides his natural averseness to all enterprises of hazard, was doubtless restrained from concurring in this design by a rational distrust of the motives of Essex; and by a doubt in whose favor troops brought over to England for the express purpose of rebellion against their present sovereign, might afterwards be disposed to declare themselves. He therefore expressed in unequivocal terms to Montjoy his decided disapprobation of this part of the

the plot; and it was in consequence given up. James's correspondence, however, with Essex was still maintained with every appearance of mutual confidence; the king continued to lend to the projects of the party leader such a degree of countenance as he judged conducive to his own interests; and he even engaged to send into England ambassadors who should co-operate actively, though by peaceable means, in the steps to be taken by Essex with respect to the succession. But the departure of these ambassadors was delayed, perhaps not undesignedly, till Essex, weary of awaiting their arrival, and pressed in the mean time by some vigorous proceedings on the part of the queen, rushed into revolt and destruction.

On learning that he was committed to custody, James indeed thought it necessary to dispatch the earl of Mar and the laird of Kinloss, furnished with instructions to intercede in the most pressing manner for the life of the earl; and even, if necessary, publicly to own his cause as that of the king their master;—but Essex was beheaded before they reached London.

After his accession to the throne of England, James was accustomed to mention the earl of Essex by the title of *his martyr*; and to restore in blood the children of this unfortunate leader, and release from imprisonment his surviving partisans, were among the earliest acts of his reign: Cobham and Raleigh, the capital enemies of Essex, were also forbidden to attend upon their new sovereign, and

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plunged into irretrievable disgrace. But notwithstanding all these demonstrations, we may certainly be permitted to call in question the genuineness of that sentimental kind of attachment professed by James for the memory of a man whose life he had, to say the least, taken no effective measures to preserve; one to whom he was personally a stranger; and whose moral qualities exhibited the strongest contrast both to his own, and to those of all the persons whom he was ever seen to distinguish by his favor. The single circumstance of the king's receiving with entire cordiality the advances of Robert Cecil, certainly a principal artificer of the intrigues by which the credit of Essex with his sovereign was undermined and his fall prepared, might of itself suffice to cast a doubt on the sincerity of the king in this matter; but we possess direct evidence of his duplicity in a letter, hereafter to be cited, of the earl of Northumberland; to whom it appears that James had distinctly expressed the opinion, that Essex was a noble gentleman, but that he had lost no friend in him. The remark does credit at least to James's sagacity: of the pretensions of Essex, if of any man's, he had reason to stand in awe; and his death, by extinguishing all faction in the English court, produced an immediate and undisguised unanimity in favor of the succession of the king of Scots.

Sir Robert Cecil now lost no time in tendering his allegiance to his future sovereign; and an intimate correspondence was immediately opened between them through the medium of lord Henry

Howard; who had previously conducted that between the king and Essex. This correspondence, besides the solid security which it was calculated to afford to James in his most important interests, was ingeniously contrived to flatter his notions of political refinement, by the affected mysteriousness of style which prevailed throughout the letters, and by the excess of caution observed in their circuitous mode of conveyance, which was through Ireland.

Amongst the English correspondents of James, the most conspicuous place, after Cecil, appears due to the earl of Northumberland; a person not less distinguished by learning and talents than by the splendor of his birth. Several letters have been preserved, in which this nobleman undertakes to set before the king a true picture of the situation of the country and of the minds of men, with reference to the king's present hopes and future policy. He had of course his own ends to serve in these representations, and his partiality in speaking of public characters is often very discernible; yet the following extract may be regarded as important both for the clear and original information which it conveys, and for the refutation which it affords of Osborn's statement, in his memoirs of king James, that an offer was made by the earl of Northumberland to levy a body of troops in support of that prince's title: it will be seen that the earl was decidedly hostile to the employment of any military force for this purpose.

Henry

Henry earl of Northumberland to king James.

..... "The two main points that are most in question amongst us, and that I think may give your majesty best satisfaction to understand, are these; the one, whether after her majesty's life your right will be yielded you peaceably without blow or not; the other, whether it be likely that your majesty before your time will attempt to hasten it by force for matter of your claim after her majesty. Here none almost call it in question, howsoever some books of the infanta's title be divulged by the factious jesuits that move little or nothing; neither can I doubt but your majesty, from so many as I conceive are devoted to your right, must needs receive discoveries of their affections in this nature; and some of them I doubt not but in this delivery of it will make your difficulties appear with what art they can to be many (for such is the common supposal) whensoever it shall please God to call the queen from amongst us: but, neither to sift their ends, whether their arguments be formed from the truth of their conceits, or from policy to endear themselves in your favor, I must conclude, that my weak understanding cannot discern, as our state now stands, and as it hath taken upon itself a new face within this year past, but that you shall as quietly, without opposition, have it yielded, as ever prince had any kingdom was due to him.

"The reason that induceth me thus to believe are these: the world assumeth greater freedom since

Essex' death to speak freely of your title, with the allowance of it, than ever; nor can I mark out any one precedent that any man is troubled for it; but rather, such persons that other faites have brought within compass of justice are with a gentler hand corrected if any thing done for your sake be a part of the offence; which some argueth that it is not distasteful to the chief agents in our state: at this instant all men's minds looking after their private gain, no man's ambition is discovered stirring to work for power to be able to oppose against your right, either by strengthening themselves with popularity, with arms, with followers, or by making themselves masters of the strength of our country; for plotting with any foreign princes, no humour or circumstance towards it doth appear, howsoever some have been challenged with that imputation; an imputation, out of mine own knowledge, rising from the dregs of former malice than out of just cause; when we look into your competitors at home, we find the eyes of the world, neither of the great ones nor small ones, once cast towards them; for either in their worth are they contemptible, or not liked for their sexes, wishing no more queens, fearing we shall never enjoy another like to this ..... For the papists, it is true their faction is strong, their increase is daily, and their diffidence in your majesty is not desperate; some of the purer sort of them, who hath swallowed the doctrine of putting down princes for religion, may perhaps be hotter than there were reason, wishing the infanta a better share in

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the kingdom than yourself. But since your majesty understandeth better how to lead this cause than I can give instructions, I will dare to say no more but it were pity to lose so good a kingdom for the not tolerating a mass in a corner, if upon that it resteth, so long as they shall not be too busy disturbers of the government of the state, nor seek to make us contributors to a Peter-priest. Yet is not my scope out of these circumstances so to over-assure you, that your preparations be not answerable to an expected opposition, and your resolutions of expedition so concluded, when that shall fall to your turn, that there may be no giving of breath to consult; in which your majesty hath much the advantage of any foreign prince, having neither ships to rigg or contrary winds or tides to hinder: and now, since it falls within the compass of my pen, I may not forget to yield censure in this point, if not my knowledge, that I think her majesty, in the secret of her heart, wishes it you before any creature, when she must leave it.

"Now to unfold the arguments we use amongst us whether it be reasonable and likely your majesty will attempt to hasten your right by force before your time, many of your faithful servants fear [it], though an exceeding confidence assures me the contrary, which I will never cease to wish, for many reasons .... It is true that of the nobility some are not satisfied, the gentility displeased, the men of war mutters, and the popularity is grieved; yet, let it be from whence these discontents do result considered,

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and they will be found weak pillars to adventure so great an action upon. The nobility are not satisfied that places of honor are not given them so soon as they become judges of their own deserts; that offices of trust are not laid in their hands to manage as they were wont; that her majesty is parcimonious, and slow to relieve their wants, which from their own prodigalities they have burdened themselves withal; they repine that the state value them not at that rate they prize themselves worthy of: neither is there many in this rank, for some are pleased, and others are not capable of them; so as your majesty may discern these to spring from heat of youth, insufficiency, want and self-conceit; hot discontents soon born and soon dying in themselves; stings not bitter enough to lead them on to so great a hazard when their considerations upon cold blood shall tell them, that that prince which shall follow cannot but conclude them in his heart apt to embrace the same disloyalties upon like apprehensions: discontents rising from the ingratitude of human nature, which for the most part forgets former benefits if unsatisfied in his last desires. The burden that the gentility repines at chiefly is wardships, a law first instituted for preserving them in time of their minority, now become the ruin of almost all men's houses once in three descents; a commodity small in the prince's coffers when the accounts are cast up. Neither doth this so far move them to discontent that they will venture the loss of all to redress this one; both because custom hath made

made them obedient to it, and hopes give them belief they may be freed upon easier conditions hereafter.

"The soldier mutters only when he wants employment, which, in effect, is as much as when he wants means to rob the common treasure of the kingdom, (by pilling and polling a company of poor creatures committed under his charge,) to satisfy the humors of their riotous excesses; a sort of people that no sooner hears the drum beat but their discontents are quenched, and instantly become less servants to a stranger prince than they were when their sword did hang quietly in their scabbard; so as I say their conditions are not much to be relied upon; of whom to say more, a kind of men fit to be nourished out of necessity to help the ministers of a state, rather than to be chosen ministers in a state themselves.

"The popular griefs are subsidies, taxes for the wars, grants of monopolies and delays of justice; in all which they rather condemn her majesty's instruments with the burden of it than conceive hatred to her person. This observance being almost infallible, that a commonalty may sooner be drawn to rebellions under color of setting strength against justice, than advancing any man's title, I am of opinion, that it is much easier for a great man popular in his own country to move them to commotion, than for your majesty, if you were so disposed.

"So, as I conclude, all these circumstances well laid together, that none can deny but that your majesty

jesty shall without all contradiction enjoy that you are so nigh to by right, and that it cannot be good for you or us that you should seek it sooner by force: for this I have ever almost noted, that lesser kingdoms seldom kept long a greater got by conquest, but by right and succession often."

In a subsequent letter illustrative of his own party views and connexions, the noble writer has hazarded an opinion respecting the character and designs of the earl of Essex, which, whether just or not, is very remarkable, considering from whom it comes and to whom it is addressed.

..... "And now that it falls out in course to speak of particular men, your majesty's judgement of Essex to be a noble gentleman, but that you lost no great friend by him, leads me on the rather to this discourse. To confirm therefore your majesty's censure I may say justly, that although he was a man endued with good gifts, yet was his loss the happiest chance for your majesty and England that could befal us; for either do I fail in my judgement, or he would have been ane bloody scourge to our nation. Of this I can speak very particularly, as one who was as inward with him as any living creature the first two years I was matched with his sister; and could he then dream of any thing but having the continual power of an army to dispose of; of being great constable of England, to the end that in an interregnum he might call parliaments to make laws for ourselves? Did he not decree that it was scandalous to our nation that a stranger should be our king?

king? Was not his familiarity with me quite cancelled when he discovered my disposition leaning to your right, and that I was not to be led by his fortunes, did he not secretly keep me from all preferments of the north part, with planting jealousies in the queen's mind of me; which are there still fresh when those matters come in dispute? Did he not ever prefer other of more facility to his will than myself in any actions whereby I might come any way to equal them in the reputation of a soldier? How often have I heard that he inveighed against you amongst such as he conceived to be birds of his own fortune? Did his soldiers-followers dream or speak any thing but of his being king of England? Did his dealings with Valentine Thomas declare his affection to your majesty? In these last actions did he not go to a chemist with Montjoy, when he would not consent to set up for themselves, when he saw your majesty walked with caution, and would not be drawn in to be made the bridge over which he would have passed for his last refuge? Did he ever offer you his service but in his declining time, and at the last push? Did he not promise papists freedom in religion; puritans, the sway of the commonwealth; soldiers, other men's lands and houses; and those he knew was yours, that for you it was that he wrought for? Well, to conclude, he wore the crown of England in his heart these many years, and therefore far from setting it upon your head if it had been in his power.

"As for Cobham and Raleigh, how they bend towards

wards your right, this is my censure: although they be in faction contrary to some that hold with your title, yet in that point I cannot deny but they be of the same mind and to run the same course. The first of these two I know not how his heart is affected; but by the latter, whom sixteen years of acquaintance hath confirmed unto me, I must needs affirm Raleigh's ever allowance of your right; and although I know him insolent, extremely heated, a man that desires to seem to be able to sway all men's fancies, all men's courses, and a man that out of himself, when your time shall come, will never be able to do you much good nor harm, yet I must needs confess what I know; that there is excellent good parts of nature in him; a man whose love is disadvantageous to me in some sort; which I cherish rather out of constancy than policy; and one whom I wish your majesty not to lose, because I would not that one hair of a man's head should be against you that might be for you[a]."

The earl next proceeds to speak of sir Robert Cecil, whom he represents as favorable, doubtless, in his heart to the title of James; though habitual caution, and a kind of official decorum, will restrain him, as he supposes, from declaring himself to the king in such a manner as to acquire the merit of an early adherence to his cause. But the wily secretary had long since established himself with James on the most confidential footing; and in his letters

[a] From a transcript out of the Hatfield collection.

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he was already employing every art to ruin in the opinion of the prince his old associates Cobham, Raleigh, and even this unsuspecting Northumberland, who believed himself at the bottom of his secrets, and who accounted the friendship of the secretary among the most secure and inviolable of his possessions.

The Gowrie conspiracy, if so it merits to be entitled, was the last event of James's reign in Scotland; every thing was now hushed into tranquillity around him; and he had only to await, with as little impatience as possible, the moment destined to bring within his grasp the sceptre on which his hopes and expectations had so long been fixed.

Five and thirty years of royalty had now fully accomplished James VI. in what he called "king-craft;" but they had left him deplorably ignorant of the only true art of government,—the best mode of securing the honor and happiness of a civilized nation. Amid the turbulence and lawlessness of the contending factions who had alternately seized the custody of his person and protected themselves by the authority of his name, self-preservation had become the first object of the monarch's solicitude; and destitute of all higher and better resources, he had learned to avail himself of the natural weapons of the feeble,—deceit and artifice. A temporising policy, which flattered and disappointed every party by turns, which exposed all his professions to contempt, and all his principles to suspicion, thus became habitual to him, and passed upon himself for the

the perfection of civil wisdom. Two classes of men indeed, he regarded with undisguised aversion; the jesuits, who preached up the right of the pope to free subjects from their allegiance to heretical sovereigns; and the presbyterian clergy, who claimed the privilege of controlling the actions of their prince, and of excommunicating him if he refused to obey their admonitions. Against these enemies he exerted himself with all the energy of which he was capable; combating the jesuits with his pen, and the Scotch church not with this instrument alone, but with acts of parliament, and acts of power and prerogative, which in any other cause he would have feared to hazard. It seems to have been partly out of opposition to the contumacious spirit of the followers of Knox, that James adopted, and endeavoured to inculcate upon his subjects, that sublime theory of the absolute power and ineffable majesty of kings, which consoled his vanity in some degree for those practical limitations to which a haughty nobility and an intractable presbytery compelled him to submit.

The temper of this prince, though childishly irascible, was only on great and repeated provocations susceptible of rancor and revenge; towards his courtiers and favorites he overflowed with affability and good nature, and unfortunately both for himself and his people he was able to deny them nothing. Of dignity, whether moral, intellectual, or personal, he was totally destitute; and his indifference to female society, his passion for the sports of the field,

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the love of ribaldry and buffoonery which he had caught from Arran and the vile crew of sycophants with which he surrounded him, added to his odious habit of profane swearing, contracted probably in the same society, gave to his manners a decided stamp of coarseness and vulgarity.

James's private morals seem to have been free from all other stain than the grossnesses to which we have alluded; it was only in later life that he became somewhat intemperate in the use of wine; and it appears from a passage of the *Basilicon Doron*, in which he speaks of the evil consequences which resulted from those amours of his grandfather James V. by which the honor of many ancient families was wounded, that he made his own exemption from similar transgressions a topic of self-approbation and religious gratitude[a]. One of the most respectable and pleasing features of

[a] Hume has thought proper to impute to the Scotch clergy the exertion of a control over the morals of the young king before his marriage, from which he found it impossible to escape; but this charge is entirely gratuitous, or rather false. As they were not able to keep him out of the hands of Arran and his profligate associates, it is clear that they could not have debarred him of the opportunities of indulging in any vice to which his disposition had inclined him. In fact, though these ecclesiastics assumed the freedom of openly, and even insolently, reproving in the pulpit the public faults or follies of their sovereign, it does not appear that they familiarly frequented his court, to become spies upon his private actions, or that they possessed there either credit or authority. The merit of this virtue must therefore rest with himself alone.

James's

James's character was his attachment to learning and his kind and munificent patronage of its professors. It is true that his taste was incorrect, and his style pedantic and tedious, and readers would have lost little had the monarch never dipped his pen in politics or divinity; but he would himself have lost the most creditable occupation and the solace of his leisure hours, and several of the most eminent scholars both of Great Britain and of the continent would have lost the notice which cheered and the bounty which sustained them.

CHAPTER III.

1603.

Principal persons of the English court at the death of Elizabeth.—Lord Buckhurst.—Sir Robert Cecil.—Sir Thomas Egerton.—Raleigh.—Coke.—Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere.—State of the church.—Hooker.—Hall.—Andrews.—Whitgift.—Cartwright.—Udal.—Political state of the country, connected with religious parties.—Church divided into puritans and prelatists.—James allies himself with the last, and renounces presbyterianism.—Catholics and puritans compared.—State of literature.—Abuse of patronage.—Corruption of taste.—Poets.—Dramatists—Shakespear, Jonson, Fletcher.—Sir Henry Saville.—Camden.—Sir Robert Cotton.—Dr. Dee.—Dedications.—Painting.—Music.—State of manners.—Court affectation.—Increase of drinking.—Ordinaries.—Gamblers.—Usurers.—Small number of the nobility.—Gentry rich and powerful.—Lavish distribution of honors.—Changes introduced by James.—Ballad of the old and new Courtier.

HAVING thus conducted the king of Scots to the eventful crisis when his destiny calls him to receive a second and more brilliant diadem, let us pause to take a survey of the scene on which he is about to appear, and of the actors who prepare to sustain their parts around him.

The reign of queen Elizabeth embraced a period of nearly five and forty years; and of the distinguished political characters who had entered into life as her contemporaries, scarcely a solitary individual survived

vived to occupy a public station after her departure. The once great names of Cecil, of Bacon, of Leicester, of Walsingham, of Sussex, and of Sidney, had either ceased to be heard, or had descended to the sons of those by whom they were first raised into celebrity; and it perhaps remained for the accomplished Buckhurst alone, after having kissed her hand as a member of that parliament which proclaimed her accession, to break his wand of office over her grave. But every circumstance was favourable to the development of talent, and a second generation of eminent men had arisen to surround the throne and support the glory of the maiden queen.

Burleigh had been satisfactorily replaced by Buckhurst as lord treasurer, and the more arduous though less dignified post of secretary of state was filled by sir Robert Cecil with ability perhaps superior to his father's, and with diligence which he had never surpassed.

Sir Thomas Egerton held the seals with official reputation little inferior perhaps to that of sir Nicholas Bacon, whose comprehensive intellect, whose flashing wit, and whose commanding eloquence, were gifts redoubled many fold upon his illustrious though morally unworthy son.

Raleigh, with a genius equal to the highest concerns which could be committed to his management, survived to deplore the loss, irreparable to him, of a mistress capable of estimating abilities of the first class, and free from that jealousy of base

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and inferior natures which shrinks from their employment.

In Coke, attorney-general, the crown possessed an officer unrivalled by any predecessor in the extent of his professional acquirements, and singularly adapted, by the vigor of his mind, the keenness of his temper, and the brutality of his vituperation, to serve an arbitrary government in the management of state trials. He had already brought these qualities into full view as conductor of the prosecution of the unhappy earl of Essex, and under the new reign his powers were destined soon to find fresh exercise.

Elizabeth had prided herself on possessing, in sir Francis Vere, an officer whose skill and valor, proved and perfected by long experience in those hard-fought fields where Dutch freedom was conquered, entitled him to rank among the great captains of Europe. Sir Horace Vere trod in the steps of his elder brother, and wanted nothing but opportunity to show himself his equal in the art of war.

The naval service could still boast of several able men; but Francis Drake had left no successor.

Religious unity was in this age regarded, by protestants no less than catholics, as a circumstance so essential to the well-being of a state, that the schism which the dispute concerning habits and ceremonies had caused in the English church, was deplored by both parties as a national calamity, but charged by each upon the unreasonable obstinacy of the other. Much suffering to the weaker part, and much uncharitable

charitable violence on both parts, had been the result of this division; but these evils were tempered by some incidental benefits, of which the increase of learning among the clergy was the chief.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the vacancies in parish churches throughout the kingdom, occasioned by the resignation or expulsion of the Roman catholic incumbents, had been supplied in the best manner, probably, that so sudden and extraordinary an emergency admitted; but the gross ignorance of one portion of the newly constituted protestant clergy, who had been brought up to mechanical trades, the scandalous lives of a second, and the superstitions of a third, who had commenced their career as priests or monks, long supplied matter of complaint and offence throughout the country. Gradually, however, as the first set dropped off, the two universities sent forth in their room a new race, better instructed in the doctrine of their church, and more fitted, it may be presumed, to adorn it by their lives. Some of the venerable features of a primitive church necessarily vanished from the aspect of the English establishment with the generation of exiles and confessors who had suffered in the persecution of Mary; but other graces succeeded, calculated to reflect dignity on her prosperous state. Nor was she left destitute of several distinguished luminaries. Under the benign and generous patronage of Jewel, her first apologist, had arisen the profound, the candid, the judicious Hooker, whose defence of the ecclesiastical polity is still regarded

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as the most efficient which has yet appeared. Hall, the conscientious and the charitable, was treasuring up for future use stores of eloquence and of argument unsurpassed, perhaps, by any pulpit compositions in our language. Lancelot Andrews added to his vast erudition and to the virtues most appropriate to a dignitary of the church, those of an Englishman and a patriot. Whitgift, before he attained the dignity of primate and the conviction that it was safer and better to silence schismatics than to confute them, had brought considerable vigor of parts to the defence of the habits and ceremonies against the formidable attacks of Cartwright, the distinguished leader of the Calvinistic or puritanical party; a party which was also supported by the acuteness, zeal and learning, of the unfortunate and ill-treated Udal, and by other champions both bold and able. Several amiable and exemplary divines were expending much thought and labor on schemes of conciliation, by which the Calvinistic clergy might be restored to the benefices from which rigid decrees of conformity had expelled them. But these generous projects served no other good purpose than that of exercising the charity and benevolence of their authors. From a church so abounding in talents and erudition, James found little difficulty in selecting, soon after his accession, fit workmen for the construction of that great monument of his reign, a new translation of the scriptures.

The political state of the country was peculiar

and critical; the parties which divided it were all religious sects; a circumstance which rendered their management an affair of great difficulty and complexity. Elizabeth, it has been frequently and justly observed, preserved her authority by an exact balance of parties; but this nice equipoise, which she herself, with all her skill and experience, might have found it difficult much longer to maintain, was necessarily disturbed by a change of hands, and it was a great problem on what principle to re-establish it. The church of England was divided within itself into two parties, which called each other puritans and prelatists, and the catholics formed a third section hostile alike to both. The prelatists, or, as they called themselves, the orthodox, who professed to be perfectly satisfied with the church establishment as it stood, and to desire nothing more than to guard it from puritan innovation, might be considered as the natural allies of the prince; he had only to protect them in their present ascendency, and they were ready to repay him with the most implicit submission to his will, and the surrender of all the remaining liberties of their country. The only objection to such a compact was, that it exposed the prince to the hazard of falling together with the church, should the popular will be found at any time strong enough to work its overthrow. But this danger probably appeared to James at his accession the most distant and the least formidable of all; and his interests and his inclinations conspiring, it was one of his first acts to conciliate this party by the formal renunciation

renunciation of the presbyterian principles of his education.

The system of conduct to be observed towards the puritans and the catholics was a matter of much greater difficulty: James had flattered by turns both these parties, but the catholics far the most frequently; both were numerous, both powerful, both exasperated by oppression; neither was disposed to forgo its claims to indulgence for the present, its hopes of pre-eminence for the future. These were the only points of agreement between them; all the rest was contrast. The catholics, with some exception for those congregated in London, belonged for the most part to the two extremes of society; they were of the high nobility, of the most ancient and considerable gentry, or of the most indigent and ignorant of the peasantry. The puritans were chiefly of the middle class; their strength lay in towns and cities, where the preachers performed the functions of lecturers, or parish priests of the lower order, and the laity occupied the stations of wealthy traders, substantial shop-keepers, mechanics, journeymen and manufacturers. London was their New Jerusalem; their other strong holds were Gloucester and some clothing towns of the west, the county of Northampton, where many even of the principal gentry had embraced their cause, and the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex; at that time the most populous and the most civilized quarter of the island, the principal seat of manufacture, the asylum of the foreign protestants, and the scene of a large proportion

portion of the martyrdoms of Mary's days. The chief seats of the catholics were, Lancashire and the other Northern counties, Staffordshire and Warwickshire, Wales, and the West.

The most confidential advisers and chief favorites of Elizabeth, Leicester, Walsingham, the two Cecils and Essex, had all, either from inclination or interest, in some degree courted the puritans; and a decided majority in the house of commons was favorable to their cause. From all the queen's ministers, with the exception of Essex when he meditated revolt, the catholics had experienced the most unqualified hostility, and the house of commons was never satiated with enacting penal laws and imposing tests and disabilities to restrain and punish them. The queen herself, not greatly averse in her heart to the doctrines or ceremonies of the catholics, and conciliated both by the professions and the solid proofs of loyalty which she received from the more moderate of them, had uniformly shown them all the indulgence and connivance which she believed compatible with her safety; she had publicly declared that the puritans were greater enemies of hers; and she had fostered the natural propensity of their religion to lean to the side of arbitrary power, by sometimes interposing with her royal prerogative to screen them from the rigor of popular laws. Yet, to deny in the most unqualified terms all the authority claimed by the sovereign as head of the church, was with every catholic an inviolable point of conscience; the close correspondence which they maintained with the

the king of Spain, the great foreign enemy of the country, exposed their patriotism to just suspicions; the head of their religion not only claimed, but in the case of Elizabeth had exercised, the power of excommunicating a heretical prince and releasing subjects from their oath of allegiance; and father Parsons, the oracle of the Spanish faction, had not scrupled, in furtherance of its present purposes, to assail even the divine, indefeasible, hereditary right of kings, James's favorite dogma. The pope had made a strenuous though fruitless effort to raise up a competitor to the king of Scots, and had secretly transmitted to England letters in which he exhorted his spiritual children to admit none but a catholic to fill the throne of Elizabeth. On the whole, considering the great continental alliances of this party, and the spirit displayed by the Romish church in all nations, it could not be doubted that it still considered itself as the rightful claimant of all that had been wrested from it by the Reformation, and would still regard itself as injured if it did not rule.

The puritans were at least a party purely English, and neither treason nor civil war was at present to be apprehended from them. In the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, they had constantly pleaded, not only that they were protestants of the most sincere and zealous kind, but that they were as firmly attached as their opponents to the principles of the church of England. Take but away, they said, a few habits, a few ceremonies, which our adversaries treat as things indifferent, but which we regard with horror

horror as remnants of the abomination of popery and idolatry, and we are ready to subscribe to all the articles, yield obedience to every point of discipline, and close up for ever the protestant schism. This language seems to have been sincere in the first who held it, and it is probable that small concessions, early and graciously made, might have restored for some time the unity of the church; but it must be stated as well ascertained, that the objections of the puritans were not long nor generally restricted to these minor points. The "beauteous discipline" of Geneva, as they quaintly termed it, quickly became the object of their ardent aspirations. The example of Scotland, where prelacy had been abolished by the will of the people, roused their emulation; the persecution which they endured from the English bishops confirmed their antipathy to the order; and it is more than probable, that for some time before the accession of James, nothing less than the establishment of presbytery would have sufficed to satisfy their leading zealots.

Elizabeth had shown herself resolute in the maintenance of episcopacy, and she had constantly refused in the most absolute tone to suffer any part of her ecclesiastical establishment to be regulated, or even discussed, by the house of commons; her supremacy being, as she said, a branch of her prerogative royal, and therefore by no means to be called in question by them. These stern rebuffs had reduced the puritans to seek their remedy through an abridgement of that exorbitant prerogative of the house

house of Tudor which lorded it thus over ancient custom, the common law of the land, and the chartered rights of Englishmen. The first object of their attacks had been of course the supremacy,—that enormous usurpation of Henry VIII., from the exercise of which in the erection of the inquisitorial court of high commission, with its terrible appendages of *ex officio* oaths, arbitrary imprisonments, and discretionary penalties, sprung all their griefs. But the discussion of this grievance led imperceptibly to the exposure of others; and a small sect of assertors of civil liberty, called political puritans by the courtiers, had arisen in the house of commons, by whom the attack was extended to other obnoxious branches of prerogative. Such were, the creation of monopolies; the exercise of the right of purveyance; the dispensing power; the granting of protections against actions at law; the extension of the jurisdiction of the star-chamber and other arbitrary courts; and above all, the arbitrary imprisonment of members of parliament for their speeches in the house, and the peremptory prohibition of all discussion there of certain highly important topics both religious and political. Of these champions of English liberty, a small proportion appear to have been indifferent to the presbyterian cause; but there was a strong natural connexion between Calvinistic principles in religion and popular principles in government, and they were so usually found united, that the sect and the party came to be considered as one, and the individuals composing it thus secured

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to themselves by a double title the jealousy and enmity of the court. There was this further circumstance of contrast between the two parties; that of the catholics had been on the decline for nearly half a century; it had spent its rage in vain efforts against the person and government of the queen; and though some expiring struggles might still be expected, it appeared to be entirely within the power of a protestant administration, by a steady perseverance in the policy of Elizabeth, to reduce it to perfect harmlessness and insignificance. The puritan on the contrary was a rising sect; it was that of the most important, because the most active classes of the community; its numbers, already formidable, had increased under every degree of persecution which brother protestants had hitherto prevailed upon themselves to apply; and those who had had the opportunity in Scotland of becoming acquainted with its stern and inflexible spirit, ought to have been aware that the whole force of government might well be foiled in the attempt to suppress it.

It was clearly the policy of James neither to flatter into consequence the sinking party, nor to exasperate into virulence the rising one: but his predilections and antipathies prevented him from making this discovery; he rushed into both errors, and by both did he suffer.

English literature at this period might in some respects be regarded as flourishing beyond all former example; yet it had received from the state of manners and society a taint which was already turning

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its beauty to corruption. At the court of Elizabeth the patronage of letters was not less a fashion than at that of Augustus. Every book, whatever might be its subject, was inscribed to some noble, "worshipful," or wealthy dedicatee; and every author of the smallest pretensions to celebrity found his cover regularly spread at the table of a peer, bishop, minister of state, or other "person of honor." There is something highly gratifying to the imagination in such a state of things; we love to contemplate such men as Burleigh and Camden, Spenser and Raleigh, linked together by the ties of benefits on one part and gratitude on the other: yet on calmer consideration, it cannot but be acknowledged that this general association of men of letters with the great, on the footing of patron and client, in whatever age or country it may have subsisted, has begun by debasing the minds of the votaries of letters, and ended in the degradation of literature itself. It is usually by no easy or honorable tenure that the dependent child of genius is permitted to hold the favors of a patron. His Mecænas becomes his task-master; by *his* will however unenlightened, by *his* taste however perverted, the unfortunate bondsman must submit to have his labors directed and over-ruled: hence we have had Michael Angèlo bestowing his inimitable workmanship on a mass of snow, and a French academy tormenting their imaginations to invent new modes of deifying their mighty Louis.

Nor can any person be widely conversant in the literature of the age of Elizabeth without discover-

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ing and deploring numerous similar abuses. Complimentary effusions, commanded strains of congratulation or condolence on subjects then interesting to few, and now to no one, form the larger portion of the occasional pieces of Spenser, of Jonson, of Donne, and of the whole herd of minor poets. Shakespear alone, pre-eminent in moral as in intellectual dignity, disdained to prostitute his immortal lines to temporary or to selfish purposes, and stands nobly acquitted of the vice of adulation. Fashion also required from the votary of the muse the dedication of another considerable portion of his rhymes to the passion of love, and to the glory of some fair one, real or imaginary, who was to be clothed in all the graces and perfections of a Laura, and adored in as many high-flown sonnets as the brain of her poet could be compelled to produce; and it was not till his fancy had been worn and his moral sensibility irreparably injured, by the performance of this task-work of the lyre, that he was at liberty to devote the relics of his genius to some theme of general and lasting interest. Need we search further for the source of that depravation of taste which had already begun to substitute quaintness and bombast, forced conceits and unmeaning similes, couched in stiff and rugged verse, for the free and harmonious flow of natural sentiment and lively imagery which still delights us in the elder strains of Surry, of Sackville, and of the anonymous poets whose occasional pieces still shine in the collections of the early years of Elizabeth?

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In the drama, however, English genius still exulted in the wildness of its liberty. Shakespear was in his zenith; Jonson had commenced his celebrated series of comedies of character on a perfectly regular model,—a species of composition with which he was the first to enrich the English theatre. Fletcher had lately begun to devote to the drama poetical powers of a high order; and the contemporary names of Decker, Marston, Chapman, Heywood and Chettle, served further to attest the flourishing condition of the stage. The dramatic poets were, for the most part, men of mirth and pleasure; poor from thoughtless profusion rather than from any deficiency of remuneration; flattered by the public and caressed by the great.

It was not however from the cultivation of poetry alone, or lighter literature, that the fruits of fame and favor were at this time to be reaped. The scholastic reputation of Henry Saville had procured for him in the first instance the office of Greek preceptor to Elizabeth, who frequently commanded his attendance at her hours of privacy for the benefit of his learned discourse; his annotated translation of the annals of Tacitus, and of the life of Agricola, had been eagerly welcomed by the reading public; and his collection of English chroniclers and historians, illustrated with chronological tables, had further advanced his reputation, and entitled him in the judgement of his royal pupil to the creditable appointment of provost of Eton: he afterwards received from the hand of James the honor of knighthood. The topographical

pographical and antiquarian pursuits of Camden, besides being celebrated in verse by Spenser, and encouraged by Philip Sidney and by his friend Fulk Greville, had obtained for him the valuable patronage of Burleigh. His Britannia was celebrated as a great national monument; and sir Robert Cotton, a leading member of the Society of Antiquaries, and afterwards eminent by many learned works on the constitution and ancient usages of his country, was impelled by a liberal curiosity to attend the veteran topographer in an expedition to Carlisle, for the purpose of examining the remains of the Picts' wall.

The mathematicians and natural philosophers of the age, such as they were, found many favorers, and certainly not the fewer because their course of study comprehended alchemy, astrology, and what was then called natural magic. Dr. Dee, the chief of his class, had been honored with the notice of the queen herself.

Essex had been a general patron of merit in almost every department; and Raleigh, in his double capacity of a splendid courtier and of the most variously gifted genius of the age, received and rewarded numerous dedications of works on a variety of topics; amongst these may be enumerated for their appropriateness, Hooker's of his continuation of the chronicles of Ireland, and Hakluyt's of a translation from the French of four voyages to the Floridas. On the subject of dedications it may be mentioned, as a singular proof of the general acceptableness of these purchased flatteries, that Decker,

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in his English Villanies, minutely describes one class of impostors who lived by them. These persons, it seems, travelled the country with some worthless pamphlet headed by an epistle dedicatory to let,—on the plan of Falstaff's love letter,—in which they contrived to insert successively the names of all the principal persons in the counties through which they passed; extracting from each, in return for the compliment, a fee of three or four angels.

England possessed as yet no native school of art; but from the time of Henry VIII. royal patronage and example had been gradually diffusing a taste for painting among the nobility. Elizabeth possessed a considerable number of pictures; there still exists at Knowle a collection of portraits believed to have been formed by lord Buckhurst; and artists from Holland and Flanders frequently visited the country as portrait painters and found abundant encouragement.

Music was highly fashionable and practised both by men and women of the first rank. A set of very difficult lessons for the virginals, composed expressly for the use of queen Elizabeth, attests her proficiency; and a viol de gamba was seen hanging up in every fashionable house, and even in the barbers' shops, to occupy the leisure moments of the guests. Several English composers, as well as performers, had attained to high celebrity among their contemporaries; but Italy was then, as now, honored as the great mistress of the art. Yonge published at London in 1588 his *Musica Transalpina*, the dedication

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to which supplies the following interesting notice of the state of music in the metropolis:—"Since I first began to keep house in this city, it hath been no small comfort unto me, that a great number of gentlemen and merchants of good account, as well of this realm as of foreign nations, have taken in good part such entertainments of pleasure as my poor ability was able to afford them, both by the exercise of music daily used in my house, and by furnishing them with books of that kind, yearly sent me out of Italy and other places, which, being for the most part Italian songs, are for sweetness of air very well liked of all, but most in account with them that understand the language."

With respect to the manners of the court over which James was called to preside, it may be remarked, that the chivalrous spirit with which Elizabeth was approached in the earlier period of her reign, had gradually faded away with her youth, her graces, and the ambitious hopes of her adorers; and that amid the gloom thrown around her declining years, a tone of pedantry, of constraint, and of insipid affectation had become general. In no other state of public taste could *Euphuism* have been adopted as the reigning language of the fair and the noble.

The vice of drinking was a prevalent and growing evil, by the testimony of all the satirists and moralists of the age, and of the preamble of more than one act of parliament; and its increase was principally attributed to the habits acquired by military

litary men during their service in Flanders; a country long notorious for this species of excess. The *ordinaries* newly established in London, and at this time the most fashionable places of resort for gentlemen, are represented as exhibiting most disgraceful scenes of intoxication and riot; nor was this the only mischief attending them; gaming was here pushed to a frightful excess. Gangs of sharpers haunted these places, who made it their business to single out the wealthy and heedless heir, or the unsuspecting country gentleman; to insinuate themselves into his confidence; and by a long-drawn train to lure him on to his destruction. The money-lender took his station by the side of the infatuated victim; and, when the sense of intolerable losses had deprived him of the use of his reason, rushed in to supply him with the means of completing his ruin. Of the class of usurers, indeed, the reigns of Elizabeth and of her successor afforded specimens odious and formidable beyond all modern example. The sir Giles Overreach of Massinger is believed to represent without considerable aggravation a contemporary character; and his variety of iniquitous expedients for obtaining the forfeiture of bonds, and possessing himself of the lands and houses mortgaged to him by unwary debtors, were doubtless copied from the genuine practice of these harpies.

The sex and the character of Elizabeth had conspired to preserve decorum, if not purity, in the manners of her court, and to repress those vicious extravagancies of various kinds which were ready

to burst forth in full luxuriance under her successor. In her days, acts of violence and outrage were never encouraged by impunity, and the savage practice of duelling was comparatively rare: neither was it a part of her policy to excite a ruinous prodigality amongst her nobility and gentry for the purpose of rendering them dependent and corrupt. On the contrary, she desired to see them such prudent managers of their own revenues, as to want little from her except the favour of her smiles and gracious speeches; and she appears to have been the more sparing of titles of honor, on account of the higher style of living by which new dignities would require to be supported. In consequence of this system James, at his entrance into England, found a nobility neither numerous, recent, nor necessarily dependent on the crown; and a gentry very numerous, extremely wealthy, and abounding with individuals eagerly pressing for admission into the order of knighthood or into the peerage, the dignity of which they could well support and had long in vain aspired to. This consideration ought somewhat to modify the censure generally passed upon James, for the lavish distribution of titles by which the first years of his reign were distinguished; he found in fact many subjects ripe for honors: there can be no question, however, that great and numerous evils sprung from the passion for show and pomp and ostentatious rivalry in every mode of luxury and expense, which was partly an effect of the new dignities with which so many heads were turned at once.

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But the change of manners amongst the English gentry, which bears date from the death of queen Elizabeth, can scarcely be described with so much vivacity, or even accuracy, as in the words of the following excellent old ballad.

THE OLD AND YOUNG COURTIER.

An old song made by an aged old pate,
Of an old worshipful gentleman who had a great estate,
That kept a brave old house at a bountiful rate,
And an old porter to relieve the poor at his gate;
Like an old courtier of the queen's,
And the queen's old courtier.

With an old lady, whose anger one word assuages;
He ev'ry quarter paid his old servants their wages,
And never knew what belong'd to coachmen, footmen nor pages,
But kept twenty old fellows with blue coats and badges;
Like an old courtier, &c.

With an old study filled full of learned old books,
With an old reverend chaplain, you might know him by his looks,
With an old buttery hatch worn quite off the hooks,
And an old kitchen that maintain'd half a dozen old cooks;
Like an old courtier, &c.

With an old hall hung about with pikes, guns and bows,
With old swords and bucklers, that had borne many shrewd blows,
And an old frieze coat, to cover his worship's trunk hose,
And a cup of old sherry to comfort his copper nose;
Like an old courtier, &c.

With a good old fashion, when Christmas was come,
To call in all his old neighbours with bagpipe and drum,
With good cheer enough to furnish ev'ry old room,
And old liquor able to make a cat speak and a man dumb.
Like an old courtier, &c.

With an old falconer, huntsman, and a kennel of hounds,
That never hawked nor hunted but in his own grounds,
Who like a wise man kept himself within his own bounds,
And when he died gave ev'ry child a thousand good pounds;
Like an old courtier, &c.

But to his eldest son his house and land he assign'd;
Charging him in his will to keep the old bountiful mind,
To be good to his old tenants and to his neighbours be kind:
But in the ensuing ditty you shall hear how he was inclin'd,
Like a young courtier of the king's,
And the king's young courtier.

Like a flourishing young gallant, newly come to his land,
Who keeps a couple of painted madams at his command,
And takes up a thousand pound upon his father's land,
And gets drunk in a tavern till he can neither go nor stand;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new-fangled lady, that is dainty, niee and spare,
Who never knew what belong'd to good house-keeping or care,
Who buys gaudy-colored fans to play with wanton air,
And seven or eight different dressings of other women's hair;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new-fashion'd hall, built where the old one stood,
Hung round with new pictures, that do the poor no good,
With a fine marble chimney, wherein burns neither coal nor wood,
And a new smooth shovel-board, whereon no victuals ne'er stood;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new study, stuft full of pamphlets and plays,
And a new chaplain, that swears faster than he prays,
With a new buttery hatch that opens once in four or five days,
And a French cook, to devise fine kickshaws and toys;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new fashion, when Christmas is drawing on,
On a new journey to London straight we all must be gone,

And

And leave none to keep house but our new porter John,
Who relieves the poor with a thump on the back with a stone;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new gentleman-usher whose carriage is complete,
With a new coachman, footmen, and pages to carry up the meat,
With a waiting-gentlewoman, whose dressing is very neat,
Who, when her lady has dined, lets the servants not eat;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With new titles of honor bought with his father's old gold,
For which sundry of his ancestors' old manors are sold;
And this is the course most of our new gallants hold,
Which makes that good housekeeping is now grown so cold
Among the young courtiers of the king,
Or the king's young courtiers[a].

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[a] Percy's *Reliques*, vol. ii. p. 318.

CHAPTER IV.

1603.

James proclaimed.—Foundation of his title.—Homage paid him.—Journey of sir Robert Cary to Edinburgh.—His memoirs and character.—Thomas Somerset,—sir Charles Percy,—sir John Davies, author of "Nosce te ipsum."—James takes leave of the Scotch,—enters England.—Sentiments of the people.—Descriptions of his person and manners.—Proclamation forbidding resort to him.—Reception of sir Robert Cecil,—his conduct as minister.—James discourages catholics,—hangs a thief without trial.—Incidents on his journey.—Mr. Oliver Cromwell.—Ceremony at Godmanchester.—Receives a deputation from Cambridge.—University poems.—Notice of lord-keeper Egerton,—of Bacon.—James at Theobalds.—Privy councillors.—Lords Montjoy—T. and H. Howard.—New peers.—Lord Wotton.—Sir Henry Wotton.—Sir J. Harrington.—Letter of Cecil to Harrington.

THE royal line of Tudor, after giving in the course of 118 years five sovereigns to the English throne, became extinct on March the 28th 1603, by the death of Elizabeth, the most eminent of the race; and on the same day James Stuart, king of Scotland, great-grandson of Margaret daughter of Henry VII. and wife of James IV. of Scotland, was proclaimed without the slightest opposition by the title of James I. It was by sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, that this proclamation was made; and

and it rested on his evidence and that of the lord-admiral alone, that the late queen had verbally designated the new sovereign as her successor. That she left behind her no written testament to this effect is certain; and as the will of Henry VIII. excluding the Scotish line had never been abrogated, as an alien was legally incapable of inheritance in England, and as no parliamentary sanction had yet been given to the title of James, it may with truth be affirmed that he ascended the throne by no other title than the acquiescence of the people.

It has been asserted, that amongst the causes of that profound melancholy which involved in clouds and darkness the close of the brilliant career of Elizabeth, one of considerable influence was the neglect and desertion which she had begun to experience from a court which, during the vigor of her years, had lavished upon her an excess of adulation and obsequiousness scarcely to be distinguished from the worship of a superior being. This revolt of their parasites has been the common scourge of the comfortless old age of arbitrary princes; and that the queen of England was by no means exempted from its operation, may clearly be inferred from what we know of the devotedness exhibited towards James by the English courtiers, long before the eyes of their mistress were closed in death. To say nothing of the political leaders who had assured him of their support, there was scarcely, as it appears, a private nobleman, a household officer, a placeman or pensioner of the smallest consideration,

tion, who had omitted to apply himself either to the king of Scots personally, or to some one amongst his ministers and favorites. Sir John Harrington himself, notwithstanding the real sorrow with which, as appears from a confidential letter to his lady, he had contemplated the declining state of his godmother and benefactress, did not neglect to make oblation to James of a new-year's gift, accompanied by some quaint lines of Latin verse of a sufficiently adulatory import. Nor did any scruple of feeling or decorum deter sir Robert Cary, son of the first lord Hunsdon and one of the nearest kinsmen of Elizabeth, from volunteering his service to be the first to carry to a new prince, a foreigner and an alien from his blood, the welcome news of her decease.

This last mentioned person composed memoirs of himself, in which he gives a very frank account both of his motives and his proceedings on the occasion, in the following words:—"I, hearing that neither the physicians nor none about her could persuade her (the queen) to take any course for her safety, feared her death would soon ensue. I could not but think in what a wretched state I should be left, most of my livelihood depending on her life. And hereupon I bethought myself with what grace and favor I was ever received by the king of Scots, whensoever I was sent to him. I did assure myself it was neither unjust nor dishonest for me to do for myself, if God at that time should call her to his mercy. Hereupon I wrote to the king of Scots, knowing him to be the right heir to the crown of England,

England, and certified him in what state her majesty was. I desired him not to stir from Edinburgh; if of that sickness she should die, I would be the first man that should bring him news of it. . . . ; " Between one and two of the clock on Thursday morning, he that I left in the cofferer's chamber brought me word the queen was dead. I rose and made all the haste to the gate to get in. There I was answered I could not enter; the lords of the council having been with him and commanded him that none should go in or out, but by warrant from them. At the very instant, one of the council, the comptroller, asked whether I was at the gate. I said, Yes. He said to me, if I pleased he would let me in. I desired to know how the queen did. He answered, Pretty well. I bade him good night. He replied and said, ' Sir, if you will come in, I will give you my word and credit, you shall go out again at your own pleasure.' Upon his word I entered the gate and came up to the cofferer's chamber, where I found all the ladies weeping bitterly. He led me from thence to the privy chamber, where all the council was assembled: there I was caught hold of and assured I should not go for Scotland till their pleasures were further known. I told them I came of purpose to that end. From thence they all went to the secretary's chamber, and as they went they gave a special command to the porters that none should go out of the gates, but such servants as they should send to prepare their coaches and horses for London.

London[a]. There was I left in the midst of the court to think my own thoughts, till they had done council. I went to my brother's chamber, who was in bed, having been overwatched many nights before. I got him up with all speed; and when the council's man was going out of the gate, my brother thrust to the gate. The porter, knowing him to be a great officer, let him out. I pressed after him, and was stayed by the porter. My brother said angrily to the porter, 'Let him out, I will answer for him.' Whereupon I was suffered to pass, which I was not a little glad of.

"I got to horse, and rode to the knight-marshal's lodgings by Charing-cross, and there stayed till the lords came to Whitehall garden. I stayed there till it was nine o'clock in the morning; and hearing that all the lords were in the old orchard at Whitehall, I sent the marshal to tell them, that I had stayed all that while to know their pleasures, and would attend them if they would command me any service. They were very glad when they heard I was not gone, and desired the marshal to send for me, and I should with all speed be dispatched for Scotland. The marshal believed them, and sent sir Arthur Savage for me. I made haste to them. One of the council, my lord of Banbury that now is, whispered the marshal in the ear, and told him if I came they would stay me, and send some other in my stead. The marshal got from them, and met

[a] The queen died at Richmond palace.

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me coming to them between the two gates. He bade me begone, for he had learned for certain, that if I came to them, they would betray me.

"I returned, and took horse between nine and ten o'clock, and that night rode to Doncaster. The Friday night[a] I came to my own house at Witherington, and presently took order with my deputies to see the border kept in quiet, which they had much to do; and gave order the next morning the king of Scotland should be proclaimed king of England, and at Morpeth and Alnwick. Very early on Saturday I took horse for Edinburgh, and came to Norham about twelve at noon, so that I might well have been with the king at supper time: but I got a great fall by the way, and my horse with one of his heels gave me a great blow on the head, that made me shed much blood. It made me so weak, that I was forced to ride a soft pace after; so that the king was newly gone to bed by the time I knocked at the gate. I was quickly let in and carried up to the king's chamber. I kneeled by him, and saluted him by his title of England, Scotland, France and Ireland[b]."

The next morning the new monarch sent to Cary to desire him to name his own reward for the agreeable intelligence so speedily conveyed. He requested to be appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber; which being granted, he entered without delay upon

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[a] He began his journey on Thursday morning.

[b] Memoirs of the earl of Monmouth by himself.

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the duties of this menial office, with many promises of the royal favor and protection; but he complains that the king, soon after his arrival in London, deceived his expectation and adhered to those who sought his ruin. On the whole, however, the messenger of good tidings appears to have had little cause to complain; his courtly arts were so far successful, that his lady obtained, and held during seven years, the post of governess to the young duke of York, afterwards Charles I., to whom he himself subsequently became gentleman of the chamber, master of the horse, and finally chamberlain. King James created him baron Leppington, and Charles at his coronation advanced him to the earldom of Monmouth. His memoirs, which were published by the earl of Cork and Orrery, preserve several curious traits of the character of Elizabeth and the manners of the times; there is also something attractive in the minuteness, the openness, and the apparent simplicity with which the writer narrates his own adventures; yet it is impossible not to experience extreme disgust at the gross self-interest which they exhibit, unmitigated by a single trait of generosity or public spirit, and rendered the more offensive by a species of sanctimonious cant which pervades the work, and which strongly marks the bad moral taste of the times.

Fast on the traces of sir Robert Cary followed, as messengers to James from the English privy council, the honorable Thomas Somerset, son to the earl of Worcester, who was afterwards created viscount

viscount Somerset, which is all that history has found to record of him; and sir Charles Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, a gallant soldier who had been knighted by the earl of Essex in France, and afterwards distinguished in the wars of the Low Countries and of Ireland; he had tarnished his laurels by some participation in the culpable designs of his old leader; but for this conduct Elizabeth had granted him her pardon, and he was not the less welcome on account of it to her successor.

In the train of Percy appeared a gentleman of the name of Davies, concerning whom the king immediately inquired whether he was the author of a poem on the immortality of the soul, entitled "Nosce te ipsum;" and being answered in the affimative, he embraced him and promised him his favor and protection. Few circumstances reflect more credit on the taste of the king, moral as well as literary. The work in question, which still preserves its place in collections of English poetry, deserves to be better known to the general reader, as one of the closest, the most ingenious, and at the same time the clearest pieces of reasoning ever couched in rhyme. The author has been too sensible of the dignity and intrinsic interest of his theme to break in upon it by digressions; but he has sufficiently and becomingly adorned it with poetical imagery, with graceful diction, and with flowing and harmonious numbers. The only circumstance to be regretted is the unfortunate choice of a measure;

sure; the elegiac stanza employed, has thrown over the poem an air of languor foreign alike to the subject and to the genius of the writer.

James performed his promise to Davies, who was a lawyer as well as a poet, by appointing him his solicitor-general for Ireland; and he was speedily advanced to the office of attorney-general for the same country, where he also frequently sat as a judge of assize. In 1607 he was knighted. His standard work entitled, "A discovery of the causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of his majesty's happy reign," appeared in 1612. In this excellent performance, equally agreeable by the purity and elegance of its style and valuable by the accuracy of its statements and the solidity of its reasonings, sir John Davies had the important merit of recommending with respect to Ireland a liberal and conciliating system of government, as the only means of introducing civility and peace into that unfortunate country. Returning after some years to England, he was raised to the bench; and he had just received the appointment of lord-chief-justice, when he was cut off by an apoplexy in the year 1626, the 57th of his age.

Davies was likewise the author of several valuable tracts on legal and historical subjects, particularly of one in defence of the common law of England which sustained several rude attacks from the civilians of the days of James; but his principal efforts were directed to the promotion of the welfare of

Ireland.

Ireland. In early life this eminent person is said to have made himself notorious for the turbulence and violence of his temper, which were exerted in such a manner as to bring him into many troubles; but suffering and mature reflection supplied him with the resolution necessary to subdue this infirmity of his nature, and the only important reproach which ought permanently to attach to his name, is that of having courted preferment by an excessive adulation of the weaknesses of two successive sovereigns. It was sufficiently contemptible to have offered up the first fruits of his genius to queen Elizabeth in the form of certain acrostics, entitled "Hymns of Astræa," in which great ingenuity and considerable poetical talent were lavished on the task of extolling the personal graces of a nymph already trembling on the borders of threescore; but his fulsome panegyric on the wisdom, power, and manifold virtues of king James, pronounced in the character of speaker of the Irish house of commons, was an exhibition of servility more gravely reprehensible; though palliated by the gratitude which he doubtless entertained towards his royal patron and literary admirer. These shameless flatteries, proceeding from men regarded as the ornaments and models of their age, deserve to be carefully recorded and attentively considered, as facts strongly illustrative of the influence of absolute monarchy on public feeling and individual conduct.

On the Sunday following the announcement of his accession to the English throne, the king of Scots repaired to the high church of Edinburgh; and after

after listening to a sermon adapted to the occasion, he rose, and addressed to his assembled subjects many earnest protestations of his unchangeable paternal affection towards his ancient people: he promised that he would frequently revisit them; that his ears should ever be open to their petitions; and that notwithstanding his absence, they should feel, in his love and care over them, that he was still their native prince. The tears of his auditory, which frequently interrupted his discourse, testified, not so much perhaps the sentiment of affection towards the present sovereign and regret for his departure, as a painful sense of national humiliation on beholding the capital of Scotland bereft of her ancient dignity and preeminence, and no more the seat and throne of kings.

On the 5th of April 1603, having previously provided for the government of his paternal kingdom, and committed his three children to the care of different noblemen, ordering that they with his queen should follow him at some distance of time, James bent his course towards England, attended by a small but brilliant retinue.

The progress of the new monarch from Berwick to London resembled a long triumphal procession; the noblemen and principal gentlemen whose mansions were scattered along his road, pressed emulously forward to tender their homage and humbly to implore that he would honor them by accepting of the magnificent entertainments and royal presents which they had exerted themselves to provide: the keys

keys of the towns and cities through he which passed were presented by mayors and corporations on their knees, accompanied by purses of gold: vast crowds of people rushed every where upon his road, all eager to behold what had not been beheld for fifty years before,—a king of England. James was in his seven-and-thirtieth year, an age which exhibits manhood in its perfection; and the far-famed beauty of his captivating mother and of that Darnley who had owed to his outward graces alone the short-lived possession of her heart, must have excited in the English people high expectations regarding the personal appearance of the sovereign who was about to be offered to their homage and applause. Their disappointment may be imagined on the first view of a figure answering to the following description. "He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough; his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof; his breeches in plaits and full stuffed: he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets: his eye large, ever rolling after any stranger came in his presence; insomuch as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance: his beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each side his mouth; his skin was as soft as taffeta sarsenet; which felt so because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers' ends slightly

with the wet end of a napkin. His legs were very weak; having, as some thought, some foul play in his youth; or, rather, before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age; that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders; his walk was ever circular[a]."

The disagreeable impression of so uncouth an exterior was aggravated in James by a dialect scarcely intelligible to the English, and peculiarly offensive to their ears from the sentiment of national animosity with which it was associated; by a striking impropriety in dress; by a total absence of all dignity in demeanour; and by manners at once illiberal and ungracious. "I shall leave him dressed for posterity," says a caustic writer, "in the colors I saw him in the next progress after his inauguration; which was as green as the grass he trod on; with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side. How suitable to his age, calling, or person, I leave others to judge from his pictures[b]."

Notwithstanding all these his eminent disqualifications for acting the part of sovereign before the eyes of a people accustomed to the unrivalled per-

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[a] Weldon's character of king James. Notwithstanding the satirical turn of the writer, this portrait may apparently be trusted; since Saunderson, in his *Aulicas Coquinariæ*, a professed refutation of Weldon, though extremely angry with it, dares not impeach its accuracy. Wilson however represents the appearance of the king as on the whole comely.

[b] Osborn's *Traditional Memoirs of King James*, c. xvii.

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formance of queen Elizabeth, James continued to be borne along with the full tide of popularity; the charms of novelty atoning, as it appears, for every deficiency. Such, in fact, was the excess of obsequiousness every where exhibited, that an honest plain Scotsman who attended him, surprised at a mode of reception so new both to himself and his master, could not refrain from breaking out into the "prophetical expression," as it is called by Wilson, "This people will spoil a gude king!"

Nothing however could be more unwelcome to James in some respects than these zealous efforts of his new subjects to do him honor. The crowds collected on his way interfered with his hunting; a sport to which he was too much devoted willingly to forgo it even on this public and solemn progress; they likewise displeased him by the constant demand which they occasioned for a kind of representation to which he felt himself unequal; his constitutional timidity also represented to him in formidable colors the dangers to be apprehended from an unusual concourse of the borderers of two nations which had scarcely ceased to regard each other as natural enemies. Seizing therefore the double pretext of the scarcity of provisions and the danger of pestilence, occasioned by such extraordinary assemblages, he ventured on the ungracious expedient of issuing a proclamation by which all unnecessary resort to him while on his journey was strictly prohibited.

At York, a city to which the residence of a lord-

president and council of the north at this time imparted the consequence of a second capital of England, the king was received with peculiar magnificence; and his court was here augmented by the accession of many English statesmen and courtiers. Sir Robert Cecil, having secretly secured his welcome, met his new master at this place, and to the equal surprise and mortification of his enemies,—who concluded that so capital a foe of Essex would now be plunged into irretrievable disgrace —received a gracious confirmation of the offices which he held under the late queen, not unaccompanied with promises of a speedy advance in rank and dignity. Great efficiency is attributed by our memoir-writers on this occasion to the good offices of sir Roger Aston, the king's barber; and of sir George Hume, one of his principal counsellors; to both of whom the English secretary is said to have applied himself with extraordinary diligence, seconded, in the case of the former at least, by arguments of a very substantial nature. But, without ascribing to sir Robert Cecil either the pride or the magnanimity which would have disdained the employment of so base an instrument of court favor as Aston, it may be remarked, that his continuance in office was secured by a much firmer tenure than bribery or low intrigue could give. It would have been far too hazardous an experiment in James, himself a foreigner, to intrust to any of his foreign ministers or favorites the helm of the English state; and to whom amongst Englishmen, all equally strangers

gers to him, was it probable that he could think of committing it, to the exclusion of that accomplished statesman by whom it had long been held with so much advantage to the sovereign and reputation throughout Europe to the minister?' The Cecils, both father and son, have been accused of designedly impeding the advancement of all political men whose abilities were sufficiently conspicuous to excite in them any apprehensions of eventual rivalry; and certain it is, that either some precautions of this nature, or a very remarkable concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, had left Robert Cecil, in that age of talent, without a competitor. Some public men were endowed with great capacity; others possessed experience in affairs; he alone united them. To these recommendations, which effectually secured him against immediate displacement, the minister was studious to go on adding others, by which his ascendency over his master was gradually confirmed and his power established.

James had all his life maintained a theory of regal prerogative by which it was carried to a height little, if at all, inferior to the despotism of the East; he was at the same time greatly addicted to ease and pleasures, and in proportion to his means, his prodigality had equalled that of the most magnificent among monarchs. The restraints which in all these respects had been imposed upon him by the poverty, the austerity, and the unyielding spirit of his native subjects, had only served to whet his appetites; and he seemed to

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to enter upon the wealthy and submissive territories, so long the object of his cupidity, with no other hope, or thought, or aim, than that of satiating himself at length with pleasures, power, adulation, and riches. Robert Cecil sedulously devoted himself to the task of encouraging all these propensities or prejudices: he was careful to spare his master the unnecessary fatigue of doing his own business or seeing any thing with his own eyes; he flattered him in all his despotic notions; and he demonstrated, by actual experiment, the various modes in which the abuse of a large and ill-defined prerogative might be made to serve the purposes of a necessitous monarch. Death alone could put an end to the authority of such a minister under such a prince.

The catholics lost no time in claiming the protection of the new king,—which in fact he had more than half promised them. Whilst he was still at York, a petition was delivered to him from this body, by a person who assumed no character except that of a private gentleman, but was the next day discovered to be a seminary priest. The detection was unfortunate: his majesty, who loved to play the part of inquisitor, in which he believed himself peculiarly skilful, condescended to hold some conference with this emissary; and after a further examination by a bishop, he was committed to prison;—to the great comfort, it appears, of all good protestants. In the county towns also through which he passed, we are exultingly told by the chronicler, that

that the king, according to the rule of mercy which he had laid down for himself, released all prisoners "except for papistry and wilful murder."

At Newark on Trent, James gave an omen to his reign by a strange act of despotism on a trivial occasion. A cut-purse, who had followed the court from Berwick, was here taken in the fact; and having also confessed his guilt, the king, of his own authority and without form of trial, directed a warrant to the recorder of Newark to have him hanged; which was executed accordingly. No resistance was made on any part to this needless violation of the laws of England and of the first principles of all civilized government; but it appears to have made a deep impression. The Tudors with all their tyranny, had never perpetrated so wanton an outrage on the most venerated institution of the country,—trial by jury; and men wondered what further innovations would ensue.

A few other incidents may be gleaned from a contemporary history of the royal progress, which is of course amply circumstantial. Upon a heath where the king was hunting, not far from Stamford, there appeared, says the relator, "to the number of an hundred high men, that seemed like the Patagones, huge long fellows of twelve and fourteen foot high, that are reported to live on the main of Brasil, near to the straits of Magellan. The king at the first sight wondered what they were, for that they overlooked horse and man. But, when all came to all, they proved a company of poor honest suitors, all going

going upon high stilts, preferring a petition against the lady Hatton. What their request was, I know not; but his majesty referred them till his coming to London, and so past on from those giants of the fen towards Stamford."....At Burleigh, "his highness with all his train were received with great magnificence, the house seeming so rich, as if it had been furnished at the charges of an emperor." It will be remembered that this splendid mansion was built, as well as furnished, by the celebrated minister of this title, who does not appear to have served his queen and country for nothing, and it was now the seat of his eldest son. Quitting Burleigh, the king on his way "dined at that worthy and worshipful knight's sir Anthony Mildmay's; where nothing wanted in a subject's duty to his sovereign, nor any thing in so potent a sovereign to grace so loyal a subject. Dinner being most sumptuously furnished, the tables were newly covered with costly banquets, wherein every thing that was most delicious for taste, proved more delicate by the art that made it seem beauteous to the eye, the lady of the house being one of the most excellent confectioners in England; though I confess many honorable women very expert." One day, "as his majesty passed through a great common (which, as the people thereabout complain, sir J. Spenser of London hath very uncharitably molested), most of the country joined together, beseeching his majesty that the commons might be laid open again for the comfort of the poor inhabiters thereabout; which his highness

ness most graciously promised should be performed according to their heart's desire. And so with many benedictions of the comforted people he passed on till he came within half a mile of master Oliver Cromwell's, where met him the bailiff of Huntingdon, who made a long oration to his majesty, and there delivered him the sword which his highness gave to the new released earl of Southampton to bear before him."....." His majesty passed in state....to master Oliver Cromwell's house, where his majesty and all his followers, with all comers whatsoever, had such entertainment as the like had not been seen in any place before, since his first setting forward out of Scotland. There was such plenty and variety of meats, such diversity of wines, and those not riff-ruff, but ever the best of the kind, and the cellars open at any man's pleasure. And if it were so common with wine, there is little question but the butteries for beer and ale were more common."....." As this bounty was held back to none within the house, so, for such poor people as would not press in, there were open beer-houses erected, wherein there was no want of bread and beef for the comfort of the poorest creatures.—Neither was this provision for the little time of his majesty's stay; but it was made ready fourteen days, and after his highness' departure distributed to as many as had mind for it." The personage by whom James was received with this magnificence of hospitality was a loyal and jovial gentleman who lived high, spent the greater part of his estate, and died

died the oldest knight in England, one-and-fifty years afterwards, during the protectorate of his nephew and godson, of whom he never deigned to beg a favor. Besides all his good and costly cheer, master Cromwell at parting presented the king with many gifts; as, a large gold cup, fine horses, deep-mouthed hounds, and hawks of excellent wing; he likewise divided fifty pounds amongst his officers. Horses richly caparisoned were presented to James by others of his loyal entertainers.

At Godmanchester, the bailiffs of the town, and "their brethren," on meeting their new sovereign surprised him with an offering of seventy team of horses harnessed to "fair new ploughs." On asking the meaning of it, "he was resolved that it was their ancient custom whensoever any king of England passed through their town, so to present him. Besides, they added that they held their lands by that tenure, being the king's tenants. His majesty not only took well in worth their good minds, but bade them well use their ploughs; being glad he was landlord of so many good husbandmen in one town. I trust," adds the narrator, "his highness, when he knows well the wrong, will take order for those, as her majesty began, that turn plough land to pasturage; and where many good husbandmen dwelt, there is now nothing left but a great house without fire; the lord commonly at sojourn near London, and for the husbandmen and ploughs, he only maintains a shepherd and his dog." We learn from various other authorities that the conversion of corn-

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land to pasture, and the inclosure of commons, were at this period the two capital grievances of the rural inhabitants of England;—grievances, it may be added, which it was not much within the scope of regal authority to redress.

At one of his stages in Huntingdonshire, the heads of the university of Cambridge met the king, and after welcoming him in a Latin oration, presented him with "divers books" published in commendation of queen Elizabeth and in compliment to her successor[a]. The English poems produced by the students of Cambridge on this occasion, offer to the curious and patient reader a very perfect specimen of the poetical manner of the day. The variety of measures, the general smoothness of the lines, and a certain neatness of construction in the entire pieces, indicate a high degree of general proficiency in the art or accomplishment of verse-writing: but the excess of eulogy with which both the dead and the living prince are treated in the greater part of these effusions, betrays the moral indelicacy of the age, whilst the far-fetched thoughts and quaint conceits which abound chiefly in those of the number which most evince a genuine talent for poetry, exhibit the prevalent corruptions of taste. The names of Phineas and Giles Fletcher, afterwards poets of considerable eminence in the school of Spenser, appear in this collection appended to elegies in the pastoral

[a] See king James's entertainment from Scotland to London in Nichols's *Progresses*, vol. iii.

style,

style, full of florid description and classical allusion, set off by great harmony of numbers, and deficient in nothing but earnestness, simplicity and good sense.

James's nearer approach to London was marked by a greater concourse of the lower classes along the roads, and by the accession of the great officers of state to his moving court. At Broxbourn in Hertfordshire he was waited upon by sir Thomas Egerton, keeper of the seals, whom he confirmed for the present in his office, and soon after gratified with the title of baron Ellesmere and the dignity of lord chancellor; but his resignation of the post of master of the rolls to the king's Scotch favorite lord Kinloss appears to have been the price set upon these honors. Lord Ellesmere was a zealous servant of the crown, and considerably more obsequious than is fitting to its wearer: few public characters however of this reign preserved to the end a reputation so free from blemish. His wisdom, his mildness towards political opponents, his sound knowledge of the laws, and equity in administering them, were celebrated by the concurring voices of his most distinguished contemporaries, and have passed down to posterity as the leading features of his character. Lord Ellesmere had been the friend, not the partisan, of the earl of Essex, and, on occasion of his celebrated quarrel with the queen, had endeavoured by his prudential counsels and gentle persuasions to lead him back to loyalty and submissive deference. Under the new reign, he took occasion to expostulate,

late, sagely, however vainly, with his unthinking sovereign, against those lavish donations of crown land by which he was annihilating the independent revenue of the kings of England; and thus delivering up himself and his successors to the discretion of a house of commons which would be resolute in demanding from the prince an equivalent in prerogative for whatever pecuniary supplies it should consent to bestow. This chancellor was peculiarly eminent as a patron of distinguished churchmen and men of letters; and few persons of his day received a larger share of learned incense.

It was perhaps at Broxbourn also that the first interview took place between the king and Francis Bacon. That base desertion of his benefactor Essex, by which this eminent person had sought to make amends to himself for the mistake of once preferring his patronage to that of the Cecils, was itself an error, relatively to the favor of James and his prospects at the new court, of which he now diligently set himself to obviate the effects. There was apparently not an individual about the person of the king, known to him in the slightest degree, whom he did not seek to engage in the task of recommending him to the protection of their master. Letters are extant to this effect addressed by Bacon to sir David Foulis, whom the king had made his messenger to the English privy council and afterwards placed in the household of prince Henry,—to sir John Davies the poet,—to sir Thomas Chaloner, tutor to the young prince, and to several others. He undertook the

the office of drawing up a proclamation to be used by his majesty on entering England, which he begged the earl of Northumberland to offer to his adoption, having, as he observed, been frequently employed by the late queen in preparing pieces of this nature. Nor did he hesitate to address the king himself in a courtly letter of homage; to which, says he, "I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a supposal that unto your majesty's sacred ear, open to the air of all virtues, there might come some small breath of the good memory of my father, so long a principal counsellor in your kingdom, but also, by the particular knowledge of the infinite devotion and incessant indeavours (beyond the strength of his body and the nature of the times), which appeared in my good brother towards your majesty's service; and were, on your majesty's part, through your singular benignity, by many most gracious and lively significations and favors, accepted and acknowledged, beyond the merit of any thing he could effect. Which endeavours and duties, for the most part, were common to myself with him; *though by design, as between brethren, dissembled.*" A curious trait of the politic arts of the two brothers! Bacon had even the hardihood to address himself to that bosom friend of Essex the earl of Southampton, on occasion of his liberation from the Tower, and to assure him that whatever might have conceived to the contrary, this change had only enabled him to be safely that which he was truly before,—his lordship's humble and much devoted.

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A labored apology for his conduct towards Essex, in a letter to the earl of Devonshire, followed; and whether or not this artful piece produced the desired impression on the minds of those who had truly loved that unfortunate leader, it soon became apparent that the king at least was well disposed to pardon all the injuries of Essex, in consideration of the services towards himself which he might reasonably anticipate from the profound obsequiousness united to the matchless abilities of Bacon.

The first meeting of this future lord-chancellor with his sovereign is thus described by himself in a passage of his letter to the earl of Northumberland. ....." I would not have lost this journey, and yet I have not that I went for; for I have had no private conference to purpose with the king. No more hath almost any other English. For the speech his majesty admitteth with some noblemen, is rather matter of grace than matter of business; with the attorney he spake, urged by the treasurer of Scotland, but no more than needs must..... Your lordship shall find a prince the furthest from vain glory that may be; and rather like a prince of the ancient form than the latter time. His speech is swift and cursory, and in the full dialect of his country, and in speech of business short; in speech of discourse large. He affecteth popularity by gracing such as he hath heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own: he is thought to be somewhat general in his favors; and his virtue of access is rather because he is much abroad, and in press, than that he giveth

giveth easy audience. He hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and occasions, faster perhaps than policy will well bear. I told your lordship once before, that methought his majesty rather asked counsel of the time past than of the time to come[a]." The extensive application of this concluding remark need scarcely be pointed out; it well exemplifies the prophetic sagacity of its author.

Bacon was knighted by the king in July 1603; a cheap favor at this period; but in his case an earnest of preferment.

At Theobalds, the princely seat of secretary Cecil, the king remained no less than four days; "where," says our relator, "to speak of lord Robert's cost to entertain him, were but to imitate geographers, that set a little round O for a mighty province; words being hardly able to express what was done there indeed." All the great officers and the whole of the late queen's privy-council were here in waiting to receive the king, besides a prodigious multitude of inferior persons. James, eager to gratify all the world, and to give proof of his own boundless good nature, made at this house alone eight and twenty knights; the whole number on whom he had bestowed this honor in the course of his six weeks' progress from Scotland amounting to 237.

The same facility of temper, combined with a spirit of nationality, hurried him into the weak and offensive measure of thrusting into the English

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[a] *Letters and Memoirs of Bacon*, letter x.

privy-

privy-council six of his Scotch favorites. He likewise added to this honorable board three Englishmen; lord Montjoy, the deputy of Ireland, to whom he felt himself under obligations for his wary conduct in the affair of the earl of Essex; and the lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the son and the brother of the last unhappy duke of Norfolk. With respect to the two last, this mark of favor appeared at the same time a tribute of filial piety; it showed that the king was still mindful of those affecting words of his mother on her trial; "Alas! how much has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!" By the whole body of the English catholics, also, the distinction conferred on these noble kinsmen was regarded as a happy augury. Lord Henry they well knew was all their own; they probably cherished hopes, though, as it proved, fallacious ones, of a secret attachment on the part of lord Thomas also to the faith of his family; and, supported by such advocates in the council, they flattered themselves that they should speedily reap in the indulgence of the king of England the fruits of the assurances given them by the king of Scots. But these religionists were hated by those whom James at the present juncture feared to offend; and he speedily disavowed by proclamation the promises of "some innovation in religion," which he was reported to have made; at the same time commanding all manner of seminarists, priests and jesuits, whose numbers and boldness had greatly increased

on presumption of his indulgence, immediately to depart the kingdom.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations, the favor of the king to the house of Howard, with which Cecil had closely allied himself, continued and augmented. Lord Henry, the medium, it may be remembered, of James's correspondence first with Essex, and afterwards with Cecil, was appointed warden of the Cinque ports, and the next year advanced to the dignity of earl of Northampton. Lord Thomas with the same rapidity attained the office of lord-chamberlain and the earldom of Suffolk. The last-mentioned nobleman was at this time proprietor of that vast mansion the Charterhouse, where James, on his arrival in his capital, was sumptuously entertained during four days; after which he repaired to the Tower.

The first creation of peers by the new sovereign took place in the Tower on May 20th 1603, when sir Robert Cecil, sir Robert Sidney younger brother of sir Philip, sir William Knolles the uncle of Essex, and sir Edward Wotton, were made barons. Wotton was a diplomatist of some distinction, who had served his apprenticeship in France under his great-uncle the celebrated sir Nicholas Wotton. James Melvil, who appears to have been on some account his personal enemy, details in his memoirs a curious plot laid by him, when a mere youth, for the purpose of drawing into a snare that experienced politician the constable Montmorenci, whom Melvil at this time

time served. This bold attempt failed, as might reasonably be expected; but more success attended its contriver in the mission to Scotland, which he undertook in 1585, by command of queen Elizabeth, for the purpose of counteracting the influence of James's favorite, Arran, and of preparing the way for the return of the nobles banished for the raid of Ruthven. By means of his wit and good breeding, his address in all the sports to which James was addicted, and his art of relating agreeably the anecdotes and observations which he had collected during several years of travel through various countries of Europe, Wotton acquired an extraordinary influence over the mind of the young monarch, and for some time guided his counsels almost at pleasure. Not satisfied however with this advantage, he was all the while carrying on a guilty intrigue for the purpose of seizing the person of James and conveying him away to England; on discovery of which he found it expedient to quit the country suddenly and without taking leave. This at least is Melvil's story; but its high improbability, the evident prejudice of the narrator, and above all the honors which James, on becoming king of England, was so prompt to confer upon Wotton, and which proceeded apparently from no other motive but personal attachment, throw great doubt upon the relation. Lord Wotton enjoyed to the last the favor of his prince, and held the offices of privy-councillor, comptroller of the household, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent.

On his first interview with Edward Wotton in his

English court, James took an opportunity of inquiring whether he had any acquaintance with one Henry Wotton, who had spent much of his time in foreign travel. Wotton answered that he was his brother; and to the further question, where he was, he replied, that he was at present either at Venice or Florence; but that he was soon expected at Paris. "'Send for him,' said the king, 'and when he shall come into England bid him repair to me.' The lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the king if he knew him? to which the king answered, 'You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me[a].'"

The person thus inquired for by James was the afterwards celebrated sir Henry Wotton, long ambassador to Venice and to other courts, and finally provost of Eton; one of the ornaments of his age and country. He was the son of Thomas Wotton esquire of Bocton Malherb in Kent; a gentleman of large fortune, of great moral worth, of a highly cultivated mind, and, to crown all, of so unambitious a spirit, that neither the example of Edward Wotton his father, who had enjoyed the offices of privy-councillor and treasurer of Calais, and with them a high place in the esteem of his master Henry VIII., nor that of his uncle sir Nicholas Wotton the able negotiator, nor, finally, the persuasions and encouragements of queen Elizabeth herself, could ever induce him to enter into any career of public life. Henry,

[a] Walton's *Life of Sir Henry Wotton.*

a fourth

a fourth son of his father and by a second marriage, was born at Bocton in 1568: his mother was his first instructress, and his aptitude for learning quickly disclosing itself, he took his place at an early age on one of the higher forms of Winchester school, whence he was removed in due season to Oxford. Here he appears to have remained till the two-and-twentieth year of his age, affording many proofs of diligence and proficiency in the ordinary studies of the place, but peculiarly attaching himself to the instructions of the learned Albericus Gentilis, an Italian refugee for the protestant faith, at this time professor of jurisprudence at Oxford. By this able man, who honored him with his friendship, the young scholar was encouraged and assisted in the attainment of that fluent use of the Italian tongue which became a principal instrument of his advancement in after life. His father dying during the period of his residence at Oxford, bequeathed to him an annuity of 100 marks; and on this slender pittance, according to the representation of his biographer, he determined to set out on his travels. We have no very clear or regular account of his proceedings on the continent during several years; but from a number of his own letters addressed to his intimate friend lord Zouch, and dated in the years 1590 and 1591 from Ingoldstadt and Vienna, we learn that he was at this time passing for a German and a catholic. At Vienna he lodged with the emperor's librarian; and, gaining access to the treasure of literatures and politics confided to the custody of this officer, he devoted

voted many hours to the examination of manuscripts of importance relative to the state of the empire. "For my part," says he in a letter to a friend, dated February 1591, "my chief cares and charges are bestowed in Greek and Dutch writers, and secret letters of the Empire, of which I have in my possession some that might make a great man beholding to me." From Germany he passed into Italy; but being desirous, and doubtless for some purposes of a political nature, of concealing his movements, he reported himself bound for Constantinople. In May 1592, he writes to lord Zouch from Florence, giving the following account of his journey from Venice to Rome:....."I had the company of the baron, with whom, notwithstanding the catholic religion, I entered into very intrinsecal familiarity, having persuaded him that I was half his countryman, himself being born, though under the duke of Cleve, not far from Colen, which went for my town: I found him by conversation to be very indiscreet, soon led, much given to women, careless of religion; qualities notably serving my purpose; for while a man is held in exercise with his own vices, he hath little leisure to observe others; and besides, to feign myself an accommodable person to his humour in all points was indeed most convenient for me; looseness of behaviour and a negligent worldly kind of carriage of a man's self, are the faults that states least fear; because they hurt only him in whom they are found. To take the benefit of this, I entered Rome with a mighty blue feather in a black hat; which though it itself

itself were a slight matter, yet surely it did work in the imaginations of men three great effects: first, I was by it taken for no Englishman, upon which depended the ground of all; secondly, I was reputed as light in my mind as in my apparel; (they are not dangerous men that are so;) thirdly, no man could think that I desired to be unknown, who by wearing that feather took a course to make myself famous through Rome in few days." After all this precaution, however, Wotton proceeds to relate, that an unexpected meeting with a Scotchman had exposed him to danger of detection, and he judged it prudent to withdraw from this city; but not before he had entitled himself to boast, that no Englishman containing himself within the limits of his allegiance to her majesty, had seen more concerning the points at Rome than he had done. He concludes by saying; "My lord Zouch and Henry Wotton are especially laid wait for at Rome and through the king of Spain's dominions, as I have been signified; and here at Florence I find the beginnings of a notable villany; for one, either of Venice or Padua, hath written unto a certain Florentine of great *pratique* with strangers to inquire after me amongst the Dutch nation; which was done not long after my departure from Venice. I have not yet searched out the bottom of it."

Wotton proceeded from Florence through most of the Tuscan cities, and made rather a long abode at Sienna, in consequence of instructions from home to pass some time near the court of the grand duke.

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In August 1593 he was at Geneva; "Here," says he to lord Zouch, "I am placed to my very great contentment in the house of Mr. Isaac Casaubon, a person of sober condition among the French; and this is all I can signify of myself, my little affairs not allowing me much to speak of." It was probably in 1595 that he returned to England.

Isaac Walton, the eulogizing biographer of sir Henry Wotton, leads his reader, by his narrative, to no other inference than that the long travels of his hero were undertaken at his own expense and solely for the acquisition of useful and agreeable knowledge; but his own relation of his disguises, his precautions, and his narrow escapes, to say nothing of his direct statement that his continuance at Sienna was by orders from home, conducts us to different conclusions. Henry Wotton's enlightened and liberal curiosity is indeed unquestionable; and his tastes had probably no small influence in shaping out his course of life; but there can be little doubt that he was one of those young men of promising talents and respectable connexions, whose travelling expenses were secretly defrayed either by the queen or the earl of Essex, in consideration of their diligent endeavours to gain private information of the motions of the catholic powers and the intrigues of the English fugitives for religion. The occupation of an *intelligencer*, as a person of this kind was then called, does not appear to have been held in disrepute at the court of Elizabeth; on the contrary, it was often the road to political preferments. Thus

Thus Wotton, in 1596, was taken into the service of the earl of Essex as one of his secretaries. In this capacity he attended his ill-fated lord in his expedition to Cadiz, in his Island voyage, and, lastly, to Ireland: but on the earl's committal to the Tower after his rash revolt, Wotton, more discreet than his friend and fellow-secretary Cuff, made his escape from London, and with great speed and secrecy withdrew into France. "The times," says his biographer, "did not look so favorable upon him as to invite his return to England:" having therefore secured the remittance of his annuity to Italy, he once more turned his steps towards that country, which was endeared to him by numerous friendships formed with persons of talent and distinction, and by his fondness for all those branches of literature and of art which were there alone cultivated to the highest perfection.

After a residence of considerable duration in his favorite Florence, he made a visit,—it appears to have been his fourth,—to Rome, where he had many friends in the English college; and having gratified his taste with the view of some particular objects of curiosity, he returned once more to Florence, where the incident occurred which was destined to introduce him to the acquaintance and favor of king James.

Ferdinand I., grand duke of Tuscany, had intercepted a dispatch of great importance relative to a certain intrigue for excluding the king of Scots from the

the succession to the English crown; and being desirous to admonish this prince of the design against him, he was seeking a proper messenger for the purpose. Vietta, his secretary, took this opportunity to recommend his intimate friend Henry Wotton: and the duke, to whom he was also known, approving the nomination, he was sent for, and made acquainted with the secret.

A casket of antidotes and preservatives, in which it seems this duke excelled all the world, was delivered to him along with his dispatches; for it was to be apprehended that the life of James would be attempted by poison. Thus armed, he set out on his journey under the disguise of an Italian and the name of Octavio Baldi; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence, he posted into Norway, and there embarked for Scotland. On reaching Stirling, he gained admission to the king under his assumed character of a Florentine; but after delivering his dispatch, he seized an opportunity to whisper to him in his own language, that he was an Englishman, requesting at the same time a private interview. This was granted; and James, who delighted in mystery, willingly acceded to his further petition, that his real name and character might remain a profound secret during his abode in that country, which was about three months: "all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the king, and as much to Octavio Baldi himself as that country could afford; from which

which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither[a]."

Notwithstanding the distinction with which he was treated at the court of Tuscany, Wotton still sighed after his native land; and he endeavoured to earn his pardon and recall by the composition of a work entitled "The State of Christendom," which abounded in eulogiums on the administration of queen Elizabeth. But his offence, whatever it might be, was judged irremissible; and he had exhausted all his efforts in vain, when the accession of James not only put an end to his banishment, but opened to him the career of fortune.

On his presentation at court, the king embraced him and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi; saying that "he was the most honest and therefore the best dissembler he had ever met with:" he added, "Seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter[b]."

The next year, 1604, sir Henry Wotton, for he had been knighted, was offered his choice of the embassies to France, to Spain, or to Venice. He made election of the last; partly from his attachment to Italy and his desire to intermix with public business the pursuits of a learned leisure, and partly

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[a] Walton's *Life of Wotton.* [b] *Ibid.*

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from prudential considerations; and to Venice he accordingly proceeded with a liberal appointment. His friend and fellow-collegian the celebrated Donne took leave of him on his departure in some vigorous and affectionate stanzas; and the exemplary Bedel, afterwards bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, attended him as his chaplain.

It appears to have been the peculiar privilege of sir Henry Wotton, and may be regarded by posterity as the most conclusive evidence of his merits, to have secured to himself through life, and amid all the vicissitudes of his fortune, the affection, the esteem and the cooperation of the master-spirits of the age in which he flourished.

The facetious knight sir John Harrington still kept aloof from the court, in some distrust of his welcome there; which is thus quaintly expressed in his private memoranda. "I hear our new king hath hanged one man before he was tried; 'tis strangely done; now, if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he hath offended?.....I will keep company with none but my *oves* and *boves* (sheep and oxen), and go to Bath and drink sack, and wash away remembrances of past times in the streams of Lethe[a]." It was in this state of mind that he received the following letter, worthy of preservation for the forcible manner in which it expresses the sentiments of morti-

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[a] *Nugæ*, Park's edition, i. 180. [b] *Ibid.* i. 344.

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fication and discontent with which the late change had filled all English bosoms, not excepting that of the highly favored secretary of state.

Lord Cecil to sir John Harrington, 1603.

My noble knight,

My thanks come with your papers and wholesome statutes for your father's household: I shall, as far as in me lieth, pattern the same, and give good heed for due observance thereof in my own state. Your father did much affect such prudence; nor doth his son less follow his fair sample, of worth, learning and honor. I shall not fail to keep your grace and favor quick and lively in the king's breast, as far as good discretion guideth me; so as not to hazard my own reputation for humble suing, rather than bold and forward entreaties. You know all my former steps: good knight, rest content, and give heed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a court, and gone heavily even to the best seeming fair ground. 'Tis a great task to prove one's honesty and yet not spoil one's fortune. You have tasted a little hereof in our blessed queen's time, who was more than a man, and, in troth, sometimes less than a woman. I wish I waited now in her presence-chamber, with ease at my food and rest in my bed. I am pushed from the shore of comfort, and know not where the winds and waves of a court will bear me; I know it bringeth little comfort on earth; and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh this way to heaven. We have much

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stir about councils, and more about honors. Many knights were made at Theobalds during the king's stay at mine house, and more to be made in the city. My father had much wisdom in directing the state; and I wish I could bear my part so discreetly as he did. Farewell, good knight, but never come near London till I call you. Too much crowding doth not well for a cripple, and the king doth scant find room to sit himself, he hath so many *friends*, as they choose to be called; and heaven prove they lie not in the end. In trouble, hurrying, feigning, suing, and such like matters, I now rest your true friend,

R. CECIL.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

1603.

Embassy of Rosni to England.—His account of the court factions.—Particulars of James's reception of him.—Remarks on James's contempt for the memory of Elizabeth.—Conduct of the queen.—Anger of James.—Treatment of Tyrone.—Letter of sir J. Harrington.—Raleigh plot.—Unfavorable situation of Raleigh.—King's prejudice against him.—Title of Arabella Stuart.—Design of the pope in her favor.—Her inoffensive conduct.—Plot of Brook and others.—Conduct of lord Grey of Wilton.—Designs of lord Cobham.—He is apprehended,—accuses Raleigh,—retracts.—Raleigh committed for trial.—Plague in London.—Pageants for the coronation.—Notice of Ben Jonson.—Raleigh club.—Coronation.—Proclamation for commemorating the Gowrie plot.—Doubts of its reality.—Letters of court news.

IT was one of the earliest occupations of James to give audience to the numerous embassies of congratulation on his happy accession which now poured in upon him from all the potentates of Europe; and it was thought necessary to meet the emergency by the creation of a master of the ceremonies; a new office in the English court, which was conferred, with a salary of 200*l. per annum*, on sir Lewis Lukenor.

Henry IV. of France, eager to realize with the new sovereign of England that league against the power

power of the house of Austria which had been agitated between himself and Elizabeth a short time previously to her death, spared for this important mission his confident and prime minister the marquis de Rosni, afterwards duke de Sully; and this eminent person has bequeathed to us in his memoirs some interesting traits of the English court at this juncture. It was on June 15th 1603 that he landed at Dover; he was met at Canterbury by Robert lord Sidney, many years governor of Flushing: lord Southampton, with a brilliant train of gentry, attended the ambassador at Gravesend, and Arundel house in the Strand was assigned him for a residence; which he commends as one of the finest and most commodious mansions in London, on account of its numerous suite of apartments on the same floor. There was considerable difficulty at first in procuring lodgings for his train; the dissolute and insolent conduct of the followers of the last French embassy, that of Biron, being still fresh in the memories of the London citizens,—conduct, Sully remarks, by which his countrymen had rendered themselves odious in every capital of Europe. The court of James appeared to this penetrating observer divided into four parties, which he slightly sketches out as follows. The Scotish, consisting of the earl of Mar, lord Montjoy (whose country the ambassador mistakes), lords Erskine and Kinloss, and others of the bedchamber; all of whom were attached to France; as was also the duke of Lenox, who was divided from the rest of his countrymen only by a personal rivalry

rivalry with the earl of Mar: the Spanish faction, headed by the whole house of Howard: an old English faction, attached neither to France nor Spain, but desirous of restoring the ancient kingdom of Burgundy; of this the lord-treasurer (lord Buckhurst) might be regarded as one of the first movers, and Cecil another, as far as any judgement could be formed of a man who was all mystery, and who quitted these or united himself to those, as he found convenient for his personal interests. A fourth party, "formed of such as were seen to mingle in public affairs without any connexion with the former parties, or even any fixed agreement amongst themselves, except that they kept together and would unite with none; seditious persons, of a character purely English, and ready to undertake any thing in favor of novelty, were it even against the king himself. These had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton and Cumberland, lord Cobham, Raleigh, Griffin (probably sir Griffin or Griffith Markham), and others." As yet, however, these factions appeared to be but ill-defined; since the humor and inclinations of the king were but imperfectly known to the several competitors for his favor, and it was impossible to foresee the changes which might be produced in them by his accession to such a crown as that of England.

"James himself," proceeds Rosni, "was by no means so well inclined to Henry IV. as Elizabeth had been: he had been told that the king of France had called him in derision, 'captain of arts and clerk

of arms.' As to myself, this prince had been given to understand that my brother and I had held discourse concerning him by no means respectful. Let me add, to make him more particularly known, that he was upright and conscientious, that he had eloquence and even erudition; but less of these than of penetration and of the show of learning. He loved to hear discourse on affairs of state, and to have great enterprises proposed to him, which he discussed in a spirit of system and method, but without any idea of carrying them into effect; for he naturally hated war, and still more to be personally engaged in it; was indolent in all his actions, except hunting; and remiss in affairs; all indications of a soft and timid nature formed to be governed. This might easily be concluded also from the conduct which he had observed with respect to the queen his consort.

"The disposition of this princess had no point of resemblance with that of her husband. She was of a bold and enterprising nature, loved pomp and splendor, tumult and intrigue. She had entered very deeply into all factious movements, not only those in Scotland relative to the catholics, whom she supported and even paid court to, but those of England; where the malcontents, whose numbers were not inconsiderable, were well pleased to strengthen their party by the accession of a princess destined to become their queen. It is well known that women, feeble instruments as they are in solid business, often play a dangerous part in civil broils: of this

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the king could not be ignorant; but he had the weakness never to be able to resist or contradict her to her face; though she, on her part, made no difficulty of publicly testifying that she was not always in harmony with him. He came to London long before her; she was still in Scotland when I arrived at this city, and James had not intended that she should arrive there so soon as she did, persuaded as he was, that her presence could only be injurious to his affairs. He sent to signify as much to her, and with that air of authority which it is easy to assume towards the absent, but which she did not greatly regard.

"Instead of obeying his directions, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having of her own authority, and contrary to the will of the king, appointed her own chamberlain of the household.... She carried with her the body of the male infant of which she had been delivered in Scotland; because an attempt had been made to persuade the public that its death was only feigned; and she also brought with her the prince her eldest son, whom she publicly affected to govern with absolute sway, and whom she was said to inspire with none but Spanish sentiments, for it was not doubted that her own wishes leaned entirely towards this side: yet the young prince gave her no room to exult in his deference for her opinions; he had a natural hatred for Spain and affection for France; a circumstance of so much the happier augury as, from the mixture of ambition, generosity and elevation of mind which

he already exhibited, he appeared fitted to become in future one of those princes who give the world much to talk of. He knew the king of France by reputation, and proposed to take him for his model; which was torture to the queen his mother, who had resolved, it was said, to cure him of his fondness for France by causing him to be taken to Spain for education."

"One of the orders which I had given preparatory to the ceremony of my audience was, that my whole suite should be put into mourning, to fulfil the first part of my commission, which consisted in complimenting the king on the death of Elizabeth; I had however learned at Calais, that no one, either ambassador, stranger, or even Englishman, had presented himself before the new king in black; and Beaumont had afterwards represented to me, that my intention would certainly be beheld with an evil eye in a court where there was such an affectation of consigning this great queen to oblivion that no mention was ever made of her, and men even avoided to pronounce her name. This being the case, I should have been very glad to have disguised from myself the necessity for my appearing in a dress which seemed to carry with it a reproach to the king and to all England: but my orders on this head were positive, and also highly proper; on which account I disregarded the entreaty of Beaumont that I would defer putting myself to this expense till he had written to sir William Erskine and some others who best understood the ceremonial of the court: never-

nevertheless he wrote. He had no answer on Thursday, Friday, or during the whole day on Saturday, and I persisted in my resolution in spite of the arguments which he continued to urge against it. On Saturday night, the very eve of the day of audience and so late that I was going to bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erskine had sent him word, that all the courtiers regarded my action as a designed affront to them; and that the king would take it so ill on my part that nothing more would be necessary to render my negotiation abortive from the very beginning. This information agreeing with that of lord Sidney, of the viscount *de Saraot*, of La Fontaine, and of the deputies of the States, it was impossible for me to doubt it. For fear of a greater evil, therefore, I caused my whole household to change their dresses and provide themselves with others where they could[a]."

In order to his first audience of the king, Rosni, with a train of one hundred and twenty gentlemen, was conveyed on board the royal barges to Greenwich palace, where they found a collation awaiting them; "contrary," says he, "to the established custom in England of not treating ambassadors, or even offering them a glass of water." On a subsequent occasion, all the gentlemen of his suite had the honor of being entertained at dinner in the palace, and himself and Beaumont the French ambassador in ordinary, that of dining with the king.

Mémoires de Sully, liv. xiv. passim.

"James,"

"James," says he, "caused only Beaumont and myself to sit down at his table, where I was not a little surprised to observe that he was always served on the knee. The middle of the table was occupied by a surtout in the form of a pyramid, covered with the most precious pieces of plate, and even enriched with jewels.

"The conversation during a great part of the repast was on the same subjects as it had been before (on the weather and on hunting), till, an occasion presenting itself to speak of the late queen of England, the king did so, and, to my great regret, with a kind of contempt. He went so far as to say, that for a long time before the death of this princess, he, from Scotland, had guided all her counsels, and had all her ministers at his disposal; by whom he was better served and obeyed than herself. He then called for wine, which it is never his practice to mingle with water; and holding his glass towards Beaumont and myself, he drank to the health of the king, the queen and the royal family of France. I pledged him in return, not forgetting his children. He drew towards my ear when he heard them named and whispered me, that the next glass which he drank should be to the double union which he meditated between the two royal houses." This was the first word he had said to me on the subject; and it did not appear to me that the time which he had taken to mention it was well chosen. I did not fail however to receive the proposal with all possible signs of joy; and I replied, also in a whisper, that

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I was sure Henry would not hesitate when a choice was to be made between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had already applied to him on the same subject. James, surprised at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offer of the infanta for his son, as to the king of France for the dauphin[a]."

The passage last cited exposes in a striking manner the levity and indiscretion with which James was ready to commit himself on the most delicate and important subjects. It is further remarkable, as affording the earliest manifestation of those projects respecting the marriage of his children which he afterwards pursued with such perverse determination. This sovereign, who never learned to form a just estimate of the intrinsic dignity of a king of England, had unhappily adopted the notion, that a prince of Wales would be degraded by matching with any but the daughter of one of the great potentates of Europe; and the certain evidence offered him, thus early in the business, of the bad faith and double dealing of the Spaniards, was insufficient to deter him from lending an ear to the hollow propositions by which they continued to play upon his credulity.

The contempt expressed by James for the memory of his great predecessor, supplies an additional trait of his own character. It must be owned that the treatment experienced by his mother at the hands

[a] *Mémoires de Sully*, liv. xv.

of

of Elizabeth, and some parts also of her conduct towards himself, might allowably be recollected by him with indignation and lasting resentment; of her personal character and disposition he could not think favorably: but, to hold her cheap as a sovereign, and above all to display his disesteem in conversation with the ambassador of a prince known to regard her with the highest admiration, esteem and gratitude, was an egregious proof of vanity and weakness, and even a want of decorum. His neglect, or rather prohibition, of the observance in her case of the customary and decent marks of respect towards a deceased monarch, was an injury to himself alone; but it might be considered as an insult to the whole English nation;—a bad return for the cheerfulness with which it had consented to admit him as her successor. He marked a sentiment which did him less dishonor, by soon after sending down a king at arms to Peterborough with a splendid pall to be extended over the remains of the queen his mother, which were afterwards removed to Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected over them. In the mean time, his royal consort, apprehensive, and not without cause, of sinking into insignificance, appeared bent on asserting to the utmost her independence and imaginary importance. Let us hear on this subject the report of archbishop Spotswood.

"Prince Henry was assigned to the care of the earl of Mar. On the queen's intended journey to London, she went to his house and demanded her son, that he might accompany her. This demand being

being denied by the family of the earl of Mar, she became so incensed that it occasioned her a fever, and that fever a miscarriage. The king, being advertised of her sickness, sent the duke of Lenox with a warrant to receive the prince and deliver him to the queen. Notwithstanding this indulgence, she wrote a letter to the king full of passion, requiring a public reparation by the punishment of the earl of Mar and his servants. The king sent her word, that she should do wisely to forget the grudges she carried to the earl of Mar, and thank God for the peaceable possession they had obtained of the kingdom of England, which, next under God, he ascribed to the last negotiation of the earl of Mar in England. When this message was delivered to the queen, she replied in great wrath, that she rather would have wished never to see England, than to be in any sort beholden to the earl of Mar[a]." Some further particulars of her behaviour occur in the following passage of a letter from sir Thomas Edmonds to the earl of Shrewsbury....." I understand that the king is very ill satisfied with the duke of Lenox for not having more effectually employed himself to dissuade the queen from some courses which she hath taken which do very much discontent the king; namely, for conferring the place of her chamberlain (to the which sir George Carew was recommended) on one Mr. Kennedy, a Scotish gentleman of whom the king hath very ill conceit, and, as it is said, used

[a] Spotswood, p. 477.

these

these words against him; that if he should find that she do bring him hither to attend her in that place, that he would break the staff of his chamberlainship on his head, and so dismiss him; but we understand that upon a commandment since sent unto him for his return, he is gone back into Scotland. It is said that the king taketh the like offence at the coming of divers others that be in her company; and therefore the duke of Lenox was yesternight sent back in post unto her concerning all those particulars. It is said that she hath hitherto refused to admit my lady of Kildare and the lady Walsingham to be of her privy chamber, and hath only as yet sworn my lady of Bedford to that place[a]."

It may perhaps be collected from these passages, that James began to be alive to the inconveniences of suffering his English court to be crowded, and the household offices occupied, by Scotchmen, to the injury and disgust of his new subjects, whom it was on all accounts so much more his interest to conciliate. For this reason, he seems to have been resolved that no favorites but his own should attend the removal of his family. In the mean time he continued to shower honors on the natives of both kingdoms with so prodigal a hand, that a pasquinade was stuck up in St. Paul's, professing to teach a new art of memory, very necessary in assisting persons to retain the titles of the new nobility.

Lord Montjoy had now returned from his Irish

[a] Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. iii. p. 163.

government;

government; and not only was himself rewarded for his good service with the title of earl of Devonshire, but even his prisoner, the arch-rebel Tyrone, to whom it had almost broken the proud heart of Elizabeth to grant a bare pardon for his life, became a sharer in the lavish favor of the new sovereign. He was brought to court and well received; and James, amidst his numberless proclamations on all subjects, thought proper to issue one commanding all persons to treat this Irish nobleman with civility. This circumstance, with some other matters of more importance, are adverted to in his usual spirited and lively manner by sir John Harrington, in the following letter.

"*To Dr. Still, bishop of Bath and Wells.*

"I have lived to see that d——e rebel Tyrone brought to England, courteously favored, honored and well liked. O! my lord, what is there which doth not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters! How did I labor after that knave's destruction! I was called from my home by her majesty's command, adventured perils by sea and land, endured toil, was near starving, eat horse-flesh at Munster; and all to quell that man, who now smileth in peace at those that did hazard their lives to destroy him. Essex took me to Ireland: I had scant time to put on my boots; I followed with good-will, and did return with the lord-lieutenant to meet ill-will; I did bear the frowns of her that sent me; and, were it not for her good liking, rather than my good deservings, I had

had been sore discountenanced indeed.....And now doth Tyrone dare us old commanders with his presence and protection.

"'I doubt not but some state business is well nigh begun, or to be made out; but these matters pertain not to me now. I much fear for my good lord Grey and Raleigh. I hear the plot was well nigh accomplished to disturb our peace and favor Arabella Stuart, the prince's cousin. The Spaniards bear no good will to Raleigh, and I doubt if some of the English have much better affection toward him: God deliver me from these designs! I have spoken with Carew concerning the matter; he thinketh ill of certain persons whom I know, and wisheth he could gain knowledge and further inspection hereof, touching those who betrayed this business. Cecil doth bear no love to Raleigh, as you well understand, in the matter of Essex. I wist not that he hath evil design in matter of faith or religion. As he hath often discoursed to me with much learning, wisdom and freedom, I know he doth somewhat differ in opinion from some others; but I think also his heart is well fixed in every honest thing, as far as I can look into him. He seemeth wondrously fitted, both by art and nature, to serve the state; especially as he is versed in foreign matters, his skill therein being always estimable and praiseworthy. In religion he hath shown (in private talk) great depth and good reading, as I once experienced at his own house, before many learned men. In good troth, I pity his state, and doubt the dice not fairly thrown,

thrown, if his life be the losing stake.....I will shortly set forward to see what goeth on in the city, and pry safely among those that trust not me; neither will I trust to them: new princes beget new laws, and I am too well striken in years and infirmities to enter on new courses.....He that thriveth in a court must put half his honesty under his bonnet; and many do we know that never part that commodity at all, and sleep with it all in a bag[a]."

The state business here referred to by sir John Harrington was the much-canvassed Raleigh plot; one of those mysterious designs baffled in the execution, either by precaution or accident, and never suffered to come to a full explanation afterwards, which form a characteristic feature of the reign of James and the administration of Robert Cecil. The affair is principally interesting from its connexion with the memorable name of Raleigh, whose brilliant genius, combined with very dubious moral qualities, with extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, and with a fate of unexampled cruelty, render him at once the object of admiration, of anxious curiosity, and of that respectful pity which is borne by every ingenuous mind towards the victim of tyranny and injustice. No public man had been so great a loser as Raleigh by the change of sovereigns. Under Elizabeth he had indeed experienced alternations of favor and disgrace; but a patent for prosecuting discoveries in America, granted after the ex-

[a] *Nugæ*, i. 340.

ploring

ploring of Virginia by persons under his orders in 1585; another of very considerable value for the licensing of wine-venders, and a third for the sale of tin; the grants of Sherborne castle and manor, and of the forfeited estate of Babington the conspirator; the offices of captain of the guard, warden of the stanneries, and governor of Jersey, besides occasional commands both by sea and land; furnished solid testimony of the general esteem in which he had been held by his royal mistress, and even of his power over her affections.

During the favor of the earl of Essex, Cecil had evidently been indefatigable in his efforts to secure Raleigh's friendship: besides supporting on occasion his suits to her majesty, we find him venturing considerable sums of money in most of his maritime and colonising adventures; and he did not hesitate to afford him a much stronger proof of confidence, by sending his only son to Sherborne castle to be educated under the immediate inspection of its owner. But no sooner had an untimely fate hurried Essex off the stage, than all was changed; and Raleigh is said to have become suddenly and too late aware of the folly of that relentless malice with which he had hunted after the blood of this gallant though misguided nobleman. By his fall, Cecil had become dictator of the court, and no choice remained for Raleigh but either to allow himself to sink into the character of a dependent of the secretary, after having so long asserted that of an ally and an equal, or to encounter him in a struggle for superiority in which

which his mind foreboded extreme peril, if not certain and irretrievable defeat. He appears to have adopted this last alternative,—for pride was a chief ingredient in his composition; and during the short remnant of the life of Elizabeth, her favor, joined with his own exertions, principally in parliament, where he appeared as an eloquent and powerful speaker on the court side, enabled him to stand his ground at once against popular odium and the politic arts of his rival; but irreparable disgrace awaited him at the hands of her successor.

James entered his new dominions with an invincible prejudice on his mind against Raleigh, which may be traced to several distinct sources. Essex, in the intimate correspondence which he had held with the king of Scots, had stigmatised his own particular enemies, Cobham, Raleigh, Northumberland and Cecil, as partisans of the title of the infanta to the English crown, and it should seem that only the last was ever able, in the opinion of James, entirely to clear himself of this imputation. The charge of atheism, malignantly brought against Raleigh by father Parsons, had injured him deeply in public estimation, and was probably not without its influence on the mind of James; but a project which he and several others are said to have entertained of procuring some limitation of the numbers of Scotchmen to be brought into England by the king, was a more obvious cause of displeasure; and, to give full efficacy to the whole, it is known that Cecil, in all his letters to Scotland, labored at the ruin of

Raleigh

Raleigh with unwearied diligence, and with that subtility and refined address of which he was so inimitable a master. Under these circumstances, a letter from Raleigh to James, in which he officiously reminded him of the part taken by Burleigh and his son in the condemnation and death of his majesty's mother, and vainly endeavoured to cast off the blame of Essex's unhappy fate from himself upon Cecil, only served to draw greater indignation on his head; and on announcing his intention of paying his respects to his sovereign in his progress to London, he received a distinct intimation that he might spare his labor; while a similar hint was conveyed to lord Cobham. These rebuffs, seconded in the case of Raleigh by the loss of the office of captain of the guards, which was transferred to one of the Scotch courtiers, naturally threw the objects of them into the party of malcontents; consisting at this period, according to the remark of Sully, of persons who agreed in nothing excepting their common dissatisfaction; while the intrigues of George Brook, the brother of lord Cobham, contributed to bring this nobleman, as well as Raleigh, into suspicion of participating in designs of which Arabella Stuart was the subject, but not the instigatress. This unfortunate lady was daughter and heiress, by a lady of the family of Cavendish, of Charles Stuart, the younger brother of lord Darnley; and in right of her grandmother Margaret countess of Lenox, daughter of the queen dowager of Scotland and niece of king Henry VIII., she stood next to James himself

himself and his immediate posterity in the Scotish line of succession to the English throne. There were even plausible grounds for regarding her title as the best; since she was born and bred an Englishwoman, and the maxim of English law, that an alien should not inherit landed property within the kingdom, appeared *a fortiori* to exclude him from inheriting the kingdom itself; an argument which was strenuously insisted upon by such members of the great Roman catholic league of Europe as were on any account disinclined to support the claims of the infanta. In this number it appears that we are to reckon pope Clement VII., who, being thoroughly convinced, and certainly with good reason, that the people of England would never submit to the Spanish line, and rejecting James on account of his religion, gave his voice and interest wholly to Arabella, an avowed catholic. The pope would have wished that she should ally herself with the duke of Parma; but as this prince happened to be already provided with a wife, he proposed to secularise his brother, cardinal Farnese, in order to enable him to accept her hand. He expected the king of Spain, out of respect for the holy see, to submit to an arrangement which blighted his fondest hopes; and he confidently reckoned upon the concurrence of Henry IV. of France, because James belonged by his mother to the house of Guise, which Henry had found so much reason to dread and hate; and probably, also, because it was the interest of this prince to impede the union of England and Scotland under the same

sceptre. In pursuance of this bold and extraordinary project, Clement, about the end of the year 1601, had sent to his nuncio in Flanders three briefs, to be transmitted, immediately on the death of Elizabeth, to the clergy, nobility and commons of England, respectively requiring them to acknowledge no one for their sovereign except a catholic who should be recommended to them by the pope.

We learn from the correspondence of Henry IV. with cardinal d'Ossat, his vice-ambassador at Rome, that this prince, whose natural good sense was certainly not obscured by any excess of zeal for the Romish faith, declined all concern in the papal project; treating it as a perfect chimæra, raised on no better foundation than the wild hopes and fallacious representations of exiles; and pronouncing the party of Arabella Stuart to be extremely weak in England. What steps were taken in the business by the king of Spain does not appear; but even the zealous father Garnet, to whom the briefs were sent, found it expedient to communicate their contents to but few persons, and soon after the peaceful accession of James to commit them to the flames[a].

As for the lady Arabella herself, who had been educated by her grandmother in great privacy, she appears to have possessed none of the qualities, good or bad, required for the prosecution of a daring and difficult enterprise. Elizabeth, according to her invariable policy, had taken measures to re-

[a] Butler's *Memoirs of English Catholics*, vol. i. 241 et seq.

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tain her in a state of celibacy; and, in particular, had interfered to prevent her marriage with her cousin Esme Stuart, heir of the Lenox family; and James was anxious to continue her under the same restriction. But these jealous precautions were due to her birth alone, and she was never suspected, or accused, of concurring in the scheme for placing her on the throne. Notwithstanding all these unpropitious circumstances, it appears that men were found rash enough to hazard their lives on such an attempt. The leader of these was George Brook, who is said not to have been inspired by religious motives,—for he was, if any thing, a protestant,—but by discontent and personal ambition. Sir Griffin Markham, a catholic, and Watson and Clark, catholic priests, were likewise chief conspirators; and through their persuasions a few other persons of the same communion were induced to join them: but from most of these the ultimate object of the plot was carefully concealed, and no other intention was avowed than that of presenting to the king a petition in behalf of the suffering Roman catholics, backed by such numbers as should secure it from rejection. To others of the party, a project was disclosed for seizing the persons of the whole royal family, and detaining them prisoners in the Tower, until the king, besides a free pardon to the conspirators, should be intimidated into the grant of all their other demands, comprehending the removal of certain of his counsellors. Watson labored to persuade his associates that this daring attempt upon

the royal person could not be construed into treason, because the ceremony of the coronation, in which the oaths of the king and people are reciprocally pledged, had not yet taken place.

It was in this part of the enterprise that Markham had the address to engage lord Grey of Wilton; who was a man of sense, of spirit, and moreover a zealous puritan; but he also was a malcontent, partly on account of the personal neglect to which he saw himself doomed under the new reign, as an old opponent of Essex and a noted enemy of the earl of Southampton, and partly on account of the oppressions endured by his sect, which it had now become evident that James was rather disposed to aggravate than to redress. Markham however had little reason to congratulate himself on the acquisition of such an ally; those deadly opposites, papist and puritan, could find no ground of common interest to meet upon; and no sooner had a closer intercourse discovered to Grey the character of his associates, than he absolutely refused to take any share in the surprisal of the king until, under pretence of raising troops for the Dutch service, he should have assembled a body of men in whom he could confide, to protect the interests of his sect. The delay occasioned by this scruple on the part of Grey, was one cause of the discovery and failure of the whole plot. In the mean time, these treasons were revealed, either wholly or in part by Brook, to his brother lord Cobham, who in return communicated to him some intrigues of his own, equally unpromising, and utterly

terly disgraceful to the character of an Englishman. It appears that he had opened a negotiation with count Aremberg, ambassador from the Netherlands, the object of which was to move the archduke Albert to procure from the king of Spain a vast sum of money to be distributed amongst discontented persons in England, for the purpose of disturbing the government and perhaps of attacking the lives of James and his family. In order to give more weight to his proposals, Cobham desired his brother to obtain, if possible, a letter from the lady Arabella to the king of Spain, promising, in case of his affording her his assistance to mount the throne of England, to make a lasting peace between England and Spain; to grant full toleration for the Romish faith; and to be directed by him in her marriage. It appears however that Brook did not find it expedient even to make the proposal to Arabella, and that a letter which lord Cobham had ventured to write in order to prepare her for the enterprise, was immediately carried by this lady to the king. Aremberg on the contrary encouraged the design; two or three conferences took place between him and Cobham, and he seems to have proceeded so far as to make some offers of specific sums to different individuals; when the affair took wind and Cobham was apprehended. Lord Grey, Brook, Markham, the two priests and other accomplices, were committed to custody about the same time, or somewhat sooner.

Cobham, by the testimony of all his contemporaries, was no other than—"that tool which knaves do

do work with;" and as Raleigh was well known to govern him, Cecil issued without delay an order for the apprehension of his old associate; whom he had perhaps excellent reasons for accounting a man of more ambition than virtue. After being examined by some of the privy-council respecting several particulars of the plot, Raleigh is said to have written a letter to Cobham, "advising him, if he were examined of any thing, to stand peremptory, and not be afraid, for one witness could not condemn him." Cobham, however, thought fit to confess his treasonable designs; and also in a fit of passion to accuse Raleigh, whom he suspected of betraying him, of being the instigator of his application to the king of Spain. Raleigh, on this, was sent to the Tower in July 1603, where in a fit of despair he stabbed himself, but not dangerously. Afterwards, he conveyed to his fellow-prisoner Cobham an expostulation on his unkind treatment of him; and Cobham, on his next examination, seemed "to clear sir Walter in most things, and to take all the burthen to himself[a]." Notwithstanding this retraction on the part of his sole accuser, Raleigh was still detained in the Tower in order to his trial; to which he was called on November the 17th of the same year. In the mean time other objects claim our attention.

A dreadful plague was at this time raging in Lon-

[a] See a letter from Cecil to sir Thomas Parry in *Cayley's Life of Raleigh*, vol. i. pp. 365 and 6. The circumstance of Raleigh's attempt on his life is also related in a private diary of Cecil's.

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don, imported, it is said, from Holland, of which 30,000 persons died in the course of the year 1603, and on account of which a weekly fast had been proclaimed; but notwithstanding this visitation, the queen had no sooner arrived from Scotland with her two elder children, than preparations were commenced for a splendid coronation. The corporation of London, anxious to display its loyalty by the exhibition of costly and ingenious pageants, customary on similar occasions, lost no time in engaging Ben Jonson in the task of devising subjects for these spectacles and furnishing them with appropriate Latin mottos.* The pageants were not at this time completed, on account of the increasing ravages of the pestilence, which caused the king to decline passing in state through the city; but the labor of Jonson was not thrown away, for a description, which was immediately published, of all that he had devised for the occasion, and which still remains a monument of his ingenuity and erudition, was one motive, probably, of the notice and patronage with which he was soon after honored by his sovereign. This great dramatist fills so large a space in the literary history of his age, that it seems proper here to advert to his private life, and to examine the claims which he had already established on the admiration of his contemporaries and the remembrance of posterity.

Benjamin Jonson, born in 1574, most likely in Westminster, was the posthumous son of a gentleman who, after suffering, probably on a religious account,

account, a long imprisonment with confiscation of his estate under the reign of Mary, had entered into holy orders. His mother, being left in indigent circumstances, remarried to a master bricklayer; she was however a woman of a lofty spirit, and after her son had received some preliminary instruction, she found a generous friend who undertook to support him at Westminster school. Of this celebrated seminary the excellent Camden was at this time second master; an instructor worthy of such a pupil, by the testimony of Jonson himself, who in one of his epigrams thus gratefully apostrophises him:

> "Camden, most reverend head, to whom I owe
> All that I am in arts, and that I know!"

On quitting school, his former benefactor obtained for him an exhibition at Cambridge; but extreme poverty compelled him to tear himself from the university at the end of a few weeks or months, and to submit to be initiated in the humble calling of his stepfather. The mortification of such a change was too bitter to be long endured, and in a fit of despair the young student enlisted for the war in Flanders, in the capacity of a volunteer. Here he signalised his valor by slaying an enemy and carrying off his spoils in sight of both armies: but a single campaign appears to have satiated him with a mode of life even more incompatible with the cultivation of letters than the irksome drudgery of a mechanical trade; and he returned to seek a subsistence in the service of the stage. The first steps of his dramatic career are involved in doubt and obscurity;

obscurity: it is probable however, that, like the most illustrious of his contemporaries, he began as an actor; but that not succeeding greatly in this department, and at the same time giving indications of talent in another and a higher, he gradually laid aside the buskin and was engaged by the theatrical managers, according to the mode of that day, as a mender and maker of plays, whom they at first employed as an anonymous assistant to more practised dramatists, and, after a time, indulged in the privilege of bringing forth pieces under his own name.

The disastrous circumstance of killing a brother-actor in a duel, interrupted the literary engagements of Jonson almost in their commencement, by subjecting him to an imprisonment apparently of considerable duration, about the year 1593 or 4. A catholic priest, with the busy zeal which then distinguished the order, visited him in his confinement, and converted him to the Romish faith; which however, after the lapse of twelve years, he on further examination renounced. On his liberation, Jonson returned to his employment; and, in spite of poverty, thought fit to burden himself with a wife. His earlier efforts in the drama are not at present distinguishable; but in the year 1596, the 23rd of his age, Every man in his humour established his fame and his popularity. It was the practice of our early dramatists to lay the scene of their comedies either in Spain or Italy; from the novels, romances, or poems of which countries their plots were mostly borrowed; and Jonson in the first draught of this piece

piece had conformed to this fashion, though the plot seems to have been original, and the characters were essentially English. But his excellent judgement soon taught him to discard this incongruity, and in a more finished copy of this drama which he gave to the stage three years afterwards, he changed the Italian names for English, and adapted the manners to the meridian of London, to which the action was now transferred. It was by this process that we first became possessed of a regular English comedy; and the author, encouraged by public applause, proceeded to assume the character, for which both nature and study had eminently qualified him, of a comic satirist and moralist. In a series of dramatic compositions constructed on the strictest rules of ancient art, which no man more learnedly understood, he delineated with a vigor, a distinctness, and, it is believed, an accuracy, never surpassed, the vices, follies and affectations, or, in his own phrase, the humors, of his day, and sometimes, we are told, of particular and well known individuals. It is obvious that works of which the purposes were so far temporary and local, must cease, in the lapse of time and the change of manners, to interest or to be understood by the general reader; and to this circumstance partly are to be imputed the neglect and comparative obscurity which have overtaken the once celebrated comedies of Ben Jonson. The scholastic severity of manner with which he anatomises, rather than exhibits, the ridiculous or the disgusting humorists who form his dramatis personæ; the

the almost total want of amiable or respectable female characters, and the general absence of gaiety and amenity in these *studies* of the comic muse, have further contributed to the same effect. Yet the admiration of his contemporaries may be fully justified in the eyes of impartial criticism, by the attraction of that comedy of character of which he was the founder in England; by the exquisite ingenuity, as well as regularity, with which his plots are constructed; by the energy and perspicuity of his learned and masterly style; and by the noble bursts of moral sentiment, and sometimes the lighter graces of poetical imagery, which animate the sententious severity of his scenes.

In 1599 Jonson produced his Every man out of his humour,—that extraordinary chronicle of the whims and fashions of the day, which offers so many curious notices to the student of past times;—and the representation was honored by the presence of queen Elizabeth, who thenceforth animated the poet by many tokens of approbation. Unbribed, however, by the smiles of royalty, he ventured in his next piece, Cynthia's Revels, to dart the force of his ridicule against the pedantry and affectation which at this time pervaded the language and manners of the court; nor does it appear that this freedom was ill received either by the queen or by his other patrons amongst the great, who had now become numerous. His Poetaster however, which appeared in 1600, and was designed as a retaliation of the attacks of certain dramatic rivals who had formed a cabal against

against him, gave high offence to the players, and also to the military and the lawyers; for which the poet sought to atone by an apologetical dialogue remarkable for its arrogance, a marking feature in the character of Jonson. Alarmed, or indignant, at the hostility manifested against his comedies, he now proclaimed his intention of exercising his muse in tragedy; and this resolve produced his Sejanus; a piece which displayed such a wonderful intimacy with the writers, the manners, and the history of ancient Rome, as to call forth the compliments and congratulations of all his learned friends, though a total absence of dramatic interest rendered it unsuccessful on the stage. This piece, in which it may be mentioned that Shakespear was one of the performers, was the last work of Ben Jonson during the reign of Elizabeth; but he had now done enough to raise his "learned sock" into a kind of competition with the "woodnotes wild" of his immortal contemporary. It is true that at the present day, when the great name of Shakespear has "gathered all its fame," such a comparison appears extravagant and almost a profanation; but, on the other hand, he who once shared the bays of our great dramatist, and whose style served in some degree as a model to the author of Comus, can only through ignorance or prejudice be degraded to the rank of obsolete writers deserving of the neglect which they experience. It was honorable to James to distinguish such a scholar and such a poet by his patronage; and if it were himself who recommended it to his consort

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to employ the pen of Jonson in the composition of the splendid masques in which she delighted, this choice adds to his merit: but these works of the author may more fitly be discussed hereafter. In this place, however, it may be mentioned that Jonson was a member of the celebrated club instituted by Raleigh and meeting at the Mermaid tavern in Friday-street, which during the period that he frequented it, boasted, amongst others, the names of Cotton, Selden, Donne, Carew, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Skakespear, a constellation of genius and learning which England might safely challenge the rest of Europe to surpass or equal[a].

The coronation of James and his queen was performed on St. James's day, July 25th, by the hands of archbishop Whitgift, and in all respects conformably to ancient and catholic usage: the full attendance of the episcopal order on the occasion, and the conspicuous part assigned to them in the ceremonial, presented a striking contrast to the coronation of Elizabeth; which some of the elder spectators might have witnessed; when a single bishop only, and he one of the least considerable on the bench, had

[a] This notice of the life of Jonson has been in part derived from the biographical memoir prefixed to the late edition of his works by Mr. Gifford, who seems to have successfully vindicated the character of his author from the charges of envy and malignity towards Shakespear brought against him, in many instances with so striking a disregard of truth and justice, by the editors and commentators of the great dramatist.

been

been with difficulty persuaded to place the diadem on the head of a heretic sovereign.

The new monarch manifested a strong propensity to the employment on all occasions of proclamations, for which he claimed the force of laws; and on the approach of the 5th of August, he thought fit to issue one, commanding that this day should for ever be observed as a festival in honor of his escape from the perils of the Gowrie conspiracy. Nothing could be more injudicious than such a requisition: the English naturally inquired how *they* were interested in the commemoration of an event in Scotish history; and besides the ridicule called forth by so singular a manifestation of royal vanity and self-importance, it led to certain inquiries respecting the circumstances of that mysterious transaction, the results of which, on many minds, were by no means such as James could either have expected or desired. Weldon mentions, that there was a weekly commemoration of the Gowrie plot by the Tuesday's sermon at court, besides an anniversary feast, "as great as it was possible," on the 5th of August; "upon which day," he adds, "as sir John Ramsey, afterwards earl of Holderness, for his good service in that preservation was the principal guest, so did the king grant him any boon he would ask that day; but had such limitations set to his asking, as made his suit as unprofitable unto him, as that he asked it for was unserviceable to the king; and indeed did make the English believe

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as little the truth of that story as the Scots themselves did[a]." The same writer mentions, as the cause of sir George Hume's favor with the king, his participation in some secret counsels, the chief of which was the Gowrie conspiracy; though he says the Scots "gave little credit to the story, but would speak both slightly and despitefully of it[b]." Even Wilson, a writer less acrimonious than Weldon, thinks it necessary to admonish his reader, that "whether the Gowries attempted on the king's person, or the king on theirs, has been variously reported[c]."

In such disesteem was the character of James at this time held by his subjects of the two countries!

The king took his progress this summer through some of the Southern and Western counties; and sir Thomas Edmonds, who attended the court, gives, in the following letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated Woodstock, Sept. 11, some articles of intelligence not unworthy of notice: ..... "The judges have of late met at Maidenhead to consider of the crimes of the prisoners; and, as I understand, they make no question of finding them all culpable, save only sir Walter Raleigh, against whom it is said that the proofs are not so pregnant[d].... The court hath been so continually haunted with the sickness, by reason of the disorderly company that do follow us, as we are forced to remove from place to place,

[a] Weldon's *Court of King James.* [b] *Ibid.*

[c] Wilson's *History of Great Britain*, p. 12.

[d] So publicly were the extrajudicial opinions of judges at this time delivered!

and

and do infect all places where we come. We are now going within a few days from hence to Winchester to seek a purer air there; and by reason that the Spanish ambassador hath had one of his company lately dead of the plague at Oxford, his audience, which was appointed to have been given him here, is deferred till the king's coming to Winchester, which doth nothing please his greatness. We have here also Monsieur de Vitry, that is sent by the French king to congratulate for the king's majesty's happy escape from the late conspiracies; and others are also come from the dukes of Florence and Guise. We are presently in hand to renew the orders and proclamations for the banishing of suitors from the court, and to restrain the access of any others hither than only of ordinary attendants.

"Things do here proceed in the same course and train as you left them, and so are like to continue. My lord treasurer is much disquieted how to find money to supply the king's necessities, and protested to some of us poor men that were suitors to him for relief, that he knoweth not how to procure money to pay for the king's diet; we do here all apprehend that the penury will more and more increase, and all means shut up for yielding any relief[a]."

Lady Arabella Stuart communicates to her uncle the earl of Shrewsbury, in a more sprightly style, a few additional anecdotes of the court during its

[a] Illustrations by Lodge, iii. 171.

abode

abode at Woodstock. .... "I writ to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis' audience (the Spanish ambassador); it remaineth to tell you how jovially he behaveth himself in the interim: he hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hawks' hoods, leather for jerkins, and moreover a perfumer; these delicacies he bestoweth amongst our ladies and lords, I will not say with a hope to effeminate the one sex, but certainly with a hope to grow gracious with the other; as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many ladies and gentlewomen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford his abiding place; which he desirous to satisfy .... made his coach stay, and took occasion with petty gifts and courtesies to win soon-won affections; who comparingh is manner with Monsieur de Rosni's hold him their far welcomer guest..... The Dutch lady my lord Wotton spoke of at Basing, proved a lady sent by the duchess of Holstein to learn the English fashions. She lodgeth at Oxford, and hath been here twice, and thinketh every day long till she be at home, so well she liketh her entertainment, or loveth her own country; in truth she is civil, and therefore looketh for the like which she brings out of a ruder country. But if ever there were such a virtue as courtesy at the court, I marvel what is become of it; for I protest I see little or none of it but in the queen; who, ever since her coming to Newbury, hath spoken to the people as she passeth, and receiveth their prayers with thanks and thankful countenance, barefaced (that is without a mask); to the great

contentment of native and foreign people; for I would not have you think the French ambassador would leave that attractive virtue of our late queen Elizabeth unremembered or uncommended, when he saw it imitated by our most gracious queen[a]." It was by these slight attentions, contrasted with the uncivil deportment of her husband towards the English people, that James's consort, without even understanding the language tolerably, became popular, and acquired the title, little merited in more important respects, of the good queen Anne.

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[a] Illustrations by Lodge, iii. 171.

CHAPTER VI.

1603 AND 4.

Trial and conviction of Brook, Markham and others,—of Raleigh.—Behaviour of the prisoners.—Conduct of the king.—Reprieve of Cobham; Grey and Markham at the scaffold.—Hampton-court conference.—Proclamation for conformity.—Death of archbishop Whitgift.—Bancroft succeeds.—Parliament summoned.—Number of the peers.—King's procession through London.—His speech to parliament.—Offence given by it.—Election dispute.—Parliament averse to the union.—Angry letter of the king.—His impiety and arrogance.—Commissioners for the union.—Conduct of Bacon.—His speech against purveyors.—His book on the advancement of learning, and further promotion.

ON account of the continued ravages of the plague in London, the term was held at Winchester, and thither were Raleigh and the other conspirators conveyed to take their trial. Brook, Markham, and some accomplices, were first put to the bar: no overt acts were charged on these persons; but of a design of seizing the king and imprisoning him in the Tower or in Dover castle, they mostly confessed themselves guilty; and all except sir Edward Parham were convicted of high treason. The priests, Watson and Clarke, with their assistants followed, and experienced the same fate. "They were all," says sir Dudley Carlton, "condemned upon their own con-

fessions, which were set down under their own hands as declarations; and compiled with such labor and care to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves. Pirra was acquitted, being only drawn in by the priests as an assistant, without knowing the purpose; yet had he gone the same way as the rest, (as it is thought,) save for a word the lord Cecil cast in the way as his cause was in handling; that the king's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent, as condemning the guilty." A significant trait, it may be remarked, both of the pliant disposition of the juries, and of the prevailing influence of Cecil, who sat as one of the commissioners on these trials.

Raleigh was next brought to the bar; accused of plotting with Cobham to set Arabella on the throne, and to procure money for this purpose from the king of Spain. Other counts were added in the indictment, but this was the only material one. Sir Edward Coke, as attorney-general, conducted the prosecution in a spirit of rancor against the illustrious prisoner which stains his memory with indelible disgrace. He began with recapitulating the treasons of Brook and his faction, in which Raleigh was not even accused of participating, as if he had been an acknowledged accomplice in the whole. "Prove one of these things wherewith you have charged me," exclaimed the prisoner, "and I will confess the whole indictment, and that I am the horriblest traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be cru-

-cified

cified with a thousand thousand torments." *Attorney.* "Nay, I will prove all; thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart." And he went on recapitulating the designs which Cobham had confessed himself to have entertained, charging Raleigh as the instigator. "I do not hear yet," said Raleigh as soon as he was permitted to speak for himself, "that you have spoken one word against me; here is no treason of mine done. If my lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?" *Attorney.* "All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor." *Raleigh.* "It becometh not a man of quality and virtue to call me so; but I take comfort in it; it is all you can do." In this confidence, however, the unfortunate prisoner was fatally deceived; no evidence whatever was adduced against him excepting the accusation of Cobham, taken down by the commissioners who examined him, and not even signed by himself; and even this was invalidated by a written retraction under Cobham's own hand which Raleigh produced; but he was answered that he had procured it by unfair means. He demanded to have Cobham confronted with him; this was refused; "You try me," said he, "by the Spanish inquisition, if you proceed on examinations, not on witnesses." This speech was pronounced treasonable, and the judges had the audacity to affirm that such proceedings were according to the law of England. In vain did the defenceless prisoner reason, plead, protest;—argue on the vagueness of the charge of Cobham;—the impression

sion of sudden anger under which it had been advanced;—the utter folly and absurdity of the designs imputed to him. In vain did he firmly and impressively assert his innocence of the whole plot; confessing only that Cobham had once promised to procure him money from Aremberg on condition of endeavouring to bring about a peace, to which he had answered evasively, not believing, as he said, that he had any power to make good his offers; all was ineffectual,—the court had decreed his fall, and the jury, almost without deliberation, found him guilty of high treason, to the astonishment even of Coke, who said he had only charged him with misprision of treason.

Better men and better patriots than Raleigh have sometimes fallen by that perversion of public justice which disgraces too many periods of the English annals; but none of those victims of iniquity, it may safely be affirmed, over whom the tears of liberty and of virtue have fallen the most copiously, have suffered by a sentence more illegal, more oppressive, more worthy to be branded with the note of infamy, than this extraordinary and memorable person. "I would know," writes sir John Hawles, solicitor-general to king William, "by what law is the deposition of a person who might be brought face to face to the prisoner, read as evidence; I would know by what law it is forbidden that the accuser should be brought face to face to the accused; I would know by what law Brook's deposition of what the lord Cobham told him of Raleigh,

was

was evidence against Raleigh; I would know by what law the story Dyer told of what an unknown man said to him at Lisbon of don Raleigh, was evidence against Raleigh; I would know by what statute the statutes of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. and fifth of Edward VI. are repealed."

The sequel of this disgraceful history is thus narrated in two letters of sir Dudley Carlton, eye and ear witness of what he relates. "After sentence given, his (Raleigh's) request was, to have his answers related to the king, and pardon begged; of which if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage and judgement, that, save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half-hanged, in the opinion of all men he had been acquitted."

"The two first that brought this news to the king were, Roger Aston and a Scotchman; whereof one affirmed that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come; and the other said, that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life. In one word, never was man so hated and so popular in so short a time."....

"Cobham led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting

a fasting day's piece of work of it, that he discredited the place to which he was called; never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted; so as, by his fashion, it was known ere he spake, what he would confess or deny..... Having thus accused all his friends, and so little excused himself, the peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favor, alleging his confession as a meritorious act.

"Grey, quite in another key, began with great assurances and alacrity; spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the lords and then to the judges, and lastly to the king's council; and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and scapes; but the evidence was too conspicuous, both by Brook's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with the surprise. Yet the lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard a censure against him. For though he had some heavy enemies, as his old antagonist[a], who was mute before his face, but spake within very unnobly against him; yet most of them strove with themselves, and would fain, as it seemed, have dispensed with their con-

[a] Lord Southampton.

sciences

sciences to have showed him favor. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the lords, and the demand whether he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be given against him, these only were his words,— 'I have nothing to say;' there he paused long; 'and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind,—*Non eadem omnibus decora*; the house of the Wiltons have spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his.'....

"After sentence given, he only desired to have one Travers[a], a divine, sent for to come to him if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was great compassion had of this gallant young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at the like trials. Yet the lord steward[b] condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the judges liked him as little, because he disputed with them against their laws: We cannot yet judge what will become of him or the rest."

In Carlton's second letter we find the following passages respecting the behaviour of the culprits.

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[a] A celebrated and exemplary puritan divine, whom the candid Hooker, when engaged in controversy with him, mentioned as his antagonist, but not his enemy.

[b] This was lord Ellesmere, the chancellor. The trait is perfectly in character with his celebrated prudential letter to the earl of Essex, urging the duty of implicit submission to the good pleasure of her majesty.

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The two priests, who underwent the penalty of treason in all its horrors, died courageously; Clarke, however, "stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious as a kind of martyrdom.

"Brook next suffered, being in fact the chief conspirator; and the bishop of Chichester, after attending him to the scaffold, went from him to the lord Cobham; and at the same time the bishop of Winchester was with Raleigh; both by express order from the king, as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accusation and the other's peremptory denial. The bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for; finding in Cobham a willingness to die and a readiness to die well; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh. But the other bishop had more to do with his charge; for, though, for his conscience, he had found him well settled, and resolved to die a good christian and a good protestant, for the point of confession, he found him so strait-laced that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation; only the pension, he said, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in."

"Grey in the mean time, with his minister Field, having had the like summons for death, spent his time in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that with which he was threatened, that he

was

was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be any-wise distracted from his accustomed fashions.

"Markham was told he should likewise die; but, by secret message from some friends at court, had still such hope given him that he would not believe the worst news till the last day; and though he could be content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him, it was rather to pass time than for any good purpose; for he was catholicly disposed; to think of death no way disposed.

"While these men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about them at court, for life or death; some pushing at the wheel one way, some another. The lords of the council joined in opinion and advice to the king, now in the beginning of his reign, to shew as well examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title of Clemens as well as of Justus. But some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins. The king held himself upright betwixt two waters; and first, let the lords know, that since the law had passed upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances; and to others gave as good reasons; let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving, but would be led as his own judgement

judgement and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his course, and the execution hasted.

"Warrants were signed and sent to sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last at night, for Markham, Grey and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns as yesterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock.....Markham, being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and those ended, prepared himself to the block.

"The sheriff, in the mean time, was secretly withdrawn by one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bed-chamber, whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy, as his countenance sad and heavy. The sheriff, at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared he should yet have two hours respite; so led him from the scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall to walk with prince Arthur. The lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led

led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit.... Being come to a full point, the sheriff stayed him, and said he had received orders from the king to change the order of the execution, and that the lord Cobham was to go before him. Whereupon he was likewise led to prince Arthur's hall.....

"The lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing but *matiere pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so outprayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander by said, "He had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single." .....For sir Walter Raleigh, he took it upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true, and with these words would have taken a short farewell of the world.....He was stayed by the sheriff, and told, that there resteth yet somewhat else to be done, for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none.

none. So as Grey and Markham, being brought back to the scaffold, as they then were.... looked strange one upon the other, like men beheaded and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation and due execution there to be performed; to all which they assented; then saith the sheriff, 'See the mercy of your prince, who, of himself, hath sent hither a countermand and given you your lives.' There was no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some such like accident.....

"Raleigh, you must think (who had a window opened that way), had hammers working in his head to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the king has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two lords in the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brookesby and Copley are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the king without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action; for the lords knew no other but that the execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed; and then, calling them before him, he told them how much he had been troubled to resolve

solve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble young spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud, insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shown great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out; 'and therefore I have saved them all.' The miracle was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the king, went from thence into the presence; and so round about the court[a]."

The reader will decide how far this act of royal clemency, under all its circumstances, merited the eulogiums lavished upon it by the courtiers of James. Previously to the arrival of the tardy respite, the unhappy prisoners were made to undergo, as we have seen, all the terror and all the ignominy of the scaffold;—nothing was spared them of the last scene but the axe and the halter, and in comparison of the misery to which they were reserved, even these might have been regarded as mercies. Markham, in his indigent exile, became a spy of sir Thomas Edmonds the English resident in Flanders: the

[a] See for these letters *Hardwicke State Papers*, i. 377 et seq. Sir Dudley Carlton was afterwards viscount Dorchester; the earl of Northumberland, to whom he was at this time secretary, was the friend of Cobham and Raleigh.

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high-spirited Grey languished out a few years of imprisonment, and died: Cobham, too despicable to be the object either of jealousy or vigilance, was after a time suffered to stray out of the Tower without inquiry; but his ample revenues having been confiscated and shared to the last shilling amongst the hungry courtiers of James, he remained in a state of utter destitution; neither his lady, who enjoyed a large independent income, nor Cecil, who had married his sister, nor any other connexion of the noble and ancient house which he represented, was moved either by humanity or common decency to administer to his necessities; but a poor "trencher-scraper," formerly his servant in court, is said to have relieved him with scraps, and to have lodged him in a miserable garret of his poor dwelling; where he died of filth and wretchedness. Such was the fate of those who had owned themselves guilty of designed though not executed treasons. Raleigh, who asserted himself to be innocent, who perhaps was really so; and who, at all events, had been condemned in defiance of every rule of English law and common justice, was treated with somewhat more decency; since he was not exhibited to the gaping multitude on a scaffold, and was allowed for the present to enjoy the income of an entailed estate; but his goods were confiscated, he was remanded to an imprisonment of indefinite duration, alleviated however by the society of his faithful wife and the visits of some learned friends; and above all, the unremitted sentence was still kept hanging over his

head. The pedantic trifling of James's speech to his council on this occasion is highly characteristic: nor were his peculiarities less conspicuous in the next public affair which engaged his attention,—the celebrated Hampton-court conference.

The numerously and respectably signed petitions from the Calvinistic or puritanical party in the English church for some relaxation of the articles of subscription, which had been obtruded on the reluctant notice of James in his progress towards his capital, had extorted from him a promise to take into consideration, at his first leisure, the state of the church; and though there is no doubt that long before this time he had absolutely determined in his own mind to suffer the episcopal establishment to receive no detriment under his administration, he judged it decent that the forms of a public disputation should be gone through. To which it might be added, that such an opportunity of displaying at once his eloquence and his polemical skill, was much too tempting to his vanity to be suffered to pass unimproved. Accordingly, in January 1604 the divines were summoned to Hampton-court. On the first day none were admitted to the king but a selected number of the most orthodox of the bishops and deans, from whom he desired to receive some previous explanation and satisfaction on certain disputed points. At the next meeting, four ministers only, nominated also by the king without the concurrence of the puritans themselves, appeared for this party; and the conference began, in presence

of the privy-council and a throng of courtiers; the king himself sitting as moderator. Very different representations of the proceedings were afterwards published by opposite partisans; and, as usual, the weaker party complained of unfair and illiberal treatment: not without reason in this instance, according to the account given by sir John Harrington, an eye-witness, and certainly no puritan or friend of puritans. "The bishops came to the king about the petition of the puritans; I was by and heard much discourse. The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds at Hampton; but he rather used upbraidings than argument, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivelling..... The bishops seemed much pleased, and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed. I cannot be present at the next meeting, though the bishop of London said that I might be in the antechamber: it seemeth the king will not change the religious observances. There was much discourse about the ring in marriage and the cross in baptism; but if I guess aright, the petitioners against one *cross* will find another[a]."

This account of the king's demeanour is rendered probable by the further specimens of his royal eloquence which even church histories have handed down.

[a] *Nugæ*, i. p. 181.

When

When the puritan champions ventured to petition for the revival of those meetings for religious purposes among the clergy called *prophesyings*, which Elizabeth and her bishops had been at great pains to suppress, he broke into violent anger; and, forgetful of the systematic dissimulation which he called the art of ruling, laid open his inmost thoughts and feelings in the following harsh speeches:—"If you aim at a Scotish presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech: *Le roi s'avisera;* Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand, and then, if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you, for that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough." Then, digressing to the subject of the royal supremacy, he said he would tell them a tale. "After queen Mary had overthrown the reformation in England, we in Scotland," said he, "felt the effect of it. For thereupon Mr. Knox writes to the queen regent, a virtuous and moderate lady, telling her she was the supreme head of the church, and charged her, as she would answer it at God's tribunal, to take care of Christ his evangil in suppressing the popish prelates, who withstood the same. But how long, trow you, did this continue? Even till, by her authority, the popish bishops were repressed, and Knox with his adherents, being brought in, made strong enough. Then they began to make small

account of her supremacy, when, according to that *more light* wherewith they were illuminated, they made a further reformation of themselves. How they used the poor lady my mother is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it. My lords the bishops (this he said putting his hand to his hat), I may thank you that these men plead thus for my supremacy. They think they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing unto it; but if once you were out, and they in, I know what would become of my supremacy, for *No bishop, no king*. I have learned of what cut they have been who, preaching before me since my coming into England, passed over with silence my being supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical. Well, Doctor, have you any thing more to say? *Dr. Reynolds*. No more, if it please your majesty. *His Majesty*. If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else *harrie* them out of the land, or else do worse[a]."

It is needless to remark on the indecorum, or the folly, of menaces and revilings such as these, addressed by the sovereign, in the character of moderator of what might be regarded as a national synod, to disputants summoned by himself to stand forth as the champions of their party; and who had maintained its opinions with learning, with temper, and with decency. The consequences of the royal indiscretion were irreparable: the puritans had now

[a] Burnet's *Church History*, book x. p. 18.

learned

learned on the king's own authority, that he dreaded their discipline as subversive of monarchy itself, and was *therefore* resolved never to concede to them any point which they had at heart: they had learned in short,—what they were not likely to forget,—the tremendous lesson, that religion and loyalty were in them irreconcileable.

A proclamation for the better observance of conformity in religion, couched in the most urgent terms, further attested the zeal of the monarch in the cause of episcopacy. Archbishop Whitgift, that strenuous high-churchman, who, on hearing the ecclesiastical commission, and especially the *ex-officio* oath, defended by James, had exclaimed in a kind of rapture, "that his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit," died six weeks after the Hampton-court conference; rejoicing, it is said, that he was thus snatched away from the scene of contention which he anticipated on the meeting of parliament. Richard Bancroft, bishop of London, a noted partisan of the divine right both of kings and of bishops, and a more rigid enforcer of conformity than Whitgift himself, was chosen his successor. By this prelate a considerable number of puritanical clergymen were deprived or otherwise chastised for their disobedience; many families attached to the same principles were driven into exile, and the whole party held for some years in check.

One suggestion of Dr. Reynolds's at the conference,—the expediency of providing a more accurate translation of the scriptures for general use,—

was

was gladly adopted by the king, and effectual steps were taken for carrying this great work into speedy execution.

James had been seated nearly a twelvemonth on the throne of England when at length he judged it necessary to call a parliament,—usually the first measure of a new reign. The pestilence which had raged in the metropolis had been the ostensible, and in part perhaps the real cause of this delay; but it is sufficiently evident by many concurring indications, that the arbitrary maxims of the king, his aversion to business, and his apprehensions of the spirit likely to be manifested by the house of commons, were all motives of considerable force in inclining him to defer the evil day, as he regarded it, when he must meet his people.

In his proclamation for the calling of the parliament, the king took upon him to instruct the electors what kind of persons they should choose or reject for their representatives; and he even went so far as to threaten, that any notorious contravention of the meaning of this his royal edict, should be visited upon the cities or boroughs with forfeiture of their liberties, and upon the persons elected with fine and imprisonment;—by what law, or in what court of judicature, it would be superfluous to inquire. In the house of lords the cause of prerogative might be expected to triumph uncontrolled: the bench of bishops, with not more than one or two exceptions, were its devoted partisans; and amongst the temporal peers, the new creations alone would go far towards

towards securing it from defeat; the number of these already amounting to nineteen out of eighty-eight, at this time the sum total of the baronage of England, including the two attainted lords, Cobham and Grey of Wilton. The fact may be worth stating, that only nine peers of the creation of Elizabeth sat in the first parliament of her successor.

It was judged proper that the solemn procession of the king through London, which ought in compliance with custom to have preceded his coronation, should now take place: accordingly, four days before the opening of parliament, which was fixed for March 19th 1604, his majesty, with the queen and the prince, rode from the Tower to Whitehall, "the city and suburbs being one great pageant, where," says Wilson, "he must give his ears leave to suck in their gilded oratory, though never so nauseous to the stomach. He was not like his predecessor, the late queen of famous memory, that with a well-pleased affection met her people's acclamations, thinking most highly of herself when she was borne up on the wings of their humble supplications. He endured this day's brunt with patience, being assured he should never have such another, and his triumphal riding to the parliament that followed: but afterwards, in his public appearances (especially in his sports), the accesses of the people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with frowns; that we may not say, with curses[a]."

[a] Wilson's *History of Great Britain*, p. 12.

The

The king's speech was, after the manner of the other productions of its royal author, prolix and filled with common places: it contained, however, some remarkable declarations of sentiment on subjects which a prince of greater practical wisdom would carefully have abstained from agitating. After expressing, with at least as much self-complacency as gratitude, his acknowledgements to the English people for the extraordinary alacrity with which they had accepted him as their prince, he proceeds on the other hand to expatiate on the blessings which they had received in his person. Peace, it seems, was one of these; for James was ignorant enough of the laws of nations to suppose, that because he, as king of Scotland, was in amity with the court of Spain, the war between that country and England was ended by the mere circumstance of his accession to the English throne. Even on the obvious topic of the advantages of the union of the British crowns he contrived to give extreme offence, by speaking of his native country as half of the island, and representing the resources of England as doubled by this addition. He also threw out hints of an intended union of the kingdoms, which alarmed at once the pride and the prejudices of his new subjects.

Proceeding to treat on the delicate and dangerous topic of the religious divisions subsisting in the country, he adverted to the late conference at Hampton-court, and to the proclamation for the observance of uniformity which he had since issued; taking occasion to stigmatise the puritans and "*novelists*"

velists" as persons "ever discontented with the present government" (in church), "and impatient to suffer any superiority," which, he added, "maketh their seats insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth." Towards the catholics, the laity at least, and such as lived like good subjects, he expressed himself far more indulgently: saying, that he "would be sorry to punish their bodies for the error of their minds." "But for the clerics," he added, "I must directly say and affirm, that as long as they maintain one special point of their doctrine, and another of their practice, they are no way sufferable to remain in this kingdom. The point of doctrine is, that arrogant and ambitious supremacy of their head the pope, whereby he not only claims to be spiritual head of all christians, but also to have an imperial civil power over all kings and emperors, dethroning and decrowning princes with his foot as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all kingdoms and empires at his appetite. The other point which they observe in continual practice, is the assassinates and murders of kings; thinking it no sin, but rather a matter of salvation, to do all actions of rebellion and hostility against their natural sovereign lord, if he be once cursed, his subjects discharged of their fidelity, and his kingdom given a prey by that three-crowned monarch, or rather monster, their head. And on this point, I have no occasion to speak further here, saving that I could wish from my heart it would please God to make me one of the members of such a general christian

christian union in religion as, laying wilfulness aside on both hands, we might meet in the midst, which is the centre and perfection of all things. For if they would leave and be ashamed of such new and gross corruptions of theirs as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of reformation, I would for my own part be content to meet them in the midway, so that all novelties might be renounced on either side. For as my faith is the true, ancient, catholic, and apostolic faith, grounded upon the express word of God, so will I ever yield all reverence to antiquity in the points of ecclesiastical polity: and by that means I shall ever, with God's grace, keep myself from being either a heretic in faith, or schismatic in matters of policy[a]."

This avowal on the part of the king of his readiness to meet the catholics half-way, was heard by all zealous protestants with horror; while it impressed the minds of thinking men with contempt for the narrow and as it were egotistical view, which their sovereign had taken of controversies so extensive, so complicated, and, in the opinions of all the contending parties, so pre-eminently important, as those now pending in matters of religion.

The vague professions of love and gratitude towards his people, and care for their interests, and the apologetical notice of a somewhat lavish expenditure of public money, with which it had pleased the royal orator to conclude his harangue, were

[a] Wilson's *History of Great Britain*, p. 21.

felt

felt as slender compensation for the grounds of offence or alarm so wantonly obtruded; and, whatever 'flattering unction' he might lay to his soul, James had certainly little reason to congratulate himself on the effects of this first display of his boasted eloquence before an English parliament.

The two houses made it their earliest business to pass an act of recognition of the king's title, for which he was far from thanking them; because such an act appeared to militate against that divine and indefeasible right which was more than once asserted by him in the course of his speech, and from which the character of an absolute monarch, which he was determined to assert, appeared to him to flow as a necessary consequence. In another point also his pretensions met with a severe check. The county of Buckingham having returned sir Francis Goodwin for its member to the exclusion of sir John Fortescue, the court candidate, "it was advised by the king's learned council and judges, whether there were not some means by the law to avoid it[a];" and they ventured to declare sir Francis Goodwin incapable of sitting, on account of an outlawry which had formerly issued against him; the king having in his late proclamation prohibited the election of persons outlawed. Notwithstanding this decision, which was extrajudicial, the house confirmed sir Francis in his seat. The king, resenting their dis-

[a] Letter from lord Cecil to Mr. Winwood. Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 18.

obedience,

obedience, required them to confer on the subject with the house of peers: this, as contrary to their privileges, the commons declined; offering however to argue the matter before the king in council. At length the difference was apparently compromised by the voluntary withdrawment of both candidates, on which a writ issued for a new election; but, in effect, the commons established their claim of being the sole judges in election causes; and the king was reduced to disguise his defeat in the best manner he was able.

It was during the ferment of this dispute, that James was impolitic enough to urge upon the house his favorite project, already hinted at, of an union of the two kingdoms. Partly from a sentiment of national animosity, which it was perhaps more to be desired than expected that men should so speedily have consigned to oblivion; but partly also from a wise and patriotic jealousy of the intentions of the king, and from a reasonable averseness to throw open every door to honor and emolument to the entrance of a crowd of indigent and rapacious foreigners; by whom, according to the pointed expression of Osborn, "nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied;" the English parliament evinced a determined hostility to this design. Their intractableness was deeply resented by James, who gave vent to his feelings in a bitter letter, from which a few characteristic sentences must be extracted.

"Ye see with what clearness and sincerity I have behaved

behaved myself in this errand, even through all the progress thereof, though I will not say too little regarded by you, but I may justly say not so willingly embraced by you as the worthiness of the matter doth well deserve. I protest to God, the fruits thereof will chiefly tend to your own weal, prosperity, and increase of strength and greatness. Nothing can stay you from hearkening unto it but jealousy and distrust, either of me the propounder, or of the matter by me propounded: .... Let not yourselves therefore be transported with the curiosity of a few giddy heads; for it is in you now to make the choice, either by yielding to the providence of God, and embracing that which he hath casten into your mouths, to procure the prosperity and increase of greatness to me and mine, you and yours, ... or else, contemning God's benefits so freely offered unto us, *to spit and blaspheme in his face,* by preferring war to peace," &c.

The last disgusting expressions require some comment. James was so accustomed to regard himself, and to be addressed by his flatterers, as "the Lord's anointed," "the vicegerent of God upon earth,"—in fact a kind of deputed deity,—that he was constantly tempted to accuse his subjects of blasphemy and irreligion when they presumed to oppose his will, or to call in question his lawless assumptions of authority. At the same time, there was no form of impiety, from the light and irreverent mention of the sacred name in familiar speech, to profane cursing and swearing, and to the blasphemous and audacious

audacious assumption of a kind of parity with the supreme being, by which the lips and mind of the prince himself were undefiled:—thus he stands chargeable with the double outrage to religion of insulting it in his own person, and of employing it towards others as an instrument of that selfish and despicable species of "kingcraft" in which he made it his boast to excel.

James was the first king of England to whom the inappropriate title of *sacred majesty* was applied.

In confident anticipation of the union which he so ardently desired, the king had already, of his own authority, made the Scotch coin current in England, caused the cross of St. Andrew to be quartered with that of St. George on all flags and standards, and ordered himself to be proclaimed king of *Great Britain:* but these precipitate steps rather tended to exasperate the opposition of parliament; and the utmost which James was able to obtain from this assembly, was the nomination of a certain number of its members to be joined with commissioners from Scotland for the purpose of drawing up articles of union; but without the power of taking any steps towards causing such articles to be carried into effect.

The first commissioner named by the house of commons on this occasion was sir Francis Bacon, who labored in the cause of the union with a zeal and perseverance which, by flattering the feelings of his master, certainly contributed more than all his other merits to his political and professional advancement.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding his ambition, and even his courtly arts, Bacon was at this time one of the most popular characters in the house of commons: in one of his letters to the king he takes notice of this circumstance, and glories in it because, as he observes, it will on many occasions enable him to serve his majesty the more effectually, by influencing the parliament in favor of measures useful to royal prerogative. This servile profession, however, may be in part regarded as a kind of artifice for appeasing any jealousies which his parliamentary conduct might have excited in the mind of James. In fact, this great man had not yet prevailed upon himself to make an entire surrender of the principle of genuine patriotism which resulted from the comprehensiveness and benevolence of his mind;—a principle which had on some occasions impelled him to acts of generous imprudence. During the reign of Elizabeth, he had opposed the grant of a subsidy with a freedom and energy of language which gave extreme offence to the queen, and was constantly urged by her ministers in bar of every suit which he subsequently preferred. Afterwards, both in motions in the house of commons and memorials addressed to the king, he was continually offering projects for the encouragement of learning, the promotion of useful undertakings, the improvement of the laws, and generally for the advancement and cultivation of civil society and public happiness. In this very parliament, some propositions having been made for the abolition of the odious right of purveyance

veyance claimed by the crown, Bacon was placed at the head of a committee deputed by the house to represent to his majesty the nature and extent of the grievance; and the manner in which he performed this duty, ought ever to be remembered for the glory of his eloquence and the honor of his heart.

It is thus that he concludes his exposure of the oppressions committed by the purveyors: ...."Instead of takers, they become taxers; instead of taking provision for your majesty's service, they tax your people, *ad redimendam vexationem;* imposing upon them and extorting from them divers sums of money, sometimes in the gross, sometimes in the nature of stipends annually paid, *ne noceant,* to be freed and eased of their oppression. Again, they take trees, which by law they cannot do: timber trees, which are the beauty, countenance, and shelter of men's houses; that men have long spared from their purse and profit; that men esteem, for their use and delight, ten times above their value; that are a loss which men cannot repair or recover; these do they take to the defacing and spoiling of your subjects' mansions and dwellings, except they be compounded with to their own appetites..... Again, they use a strange and most unjust exaction in causing the subjects to pay poundage of their own debts due from your majesty unto them; so as a poor man, when he has had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry, (which perchance he was full loth to part with, and had for the provision of his own family, and not to put to sale,) taken from him, and that

that not at a just price, but under the value, and cometh to receive his money, he shall have after the rate of twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage of his due payment upon so hard conditions: nay, further, they are grown to that extremity, as it is affirmed, though it be scarce credible, save that in such persons all things are credible, that they will take double poundage, once when the debenture is made, and again the second time when the money is paid."

This striking appeal failed of procuring the redress of the grievance complained of; not because James was, like Elizabeth, indignant at the interference of the house with this branch of prerogative, or unwilling to commute it for the fixed revenue which was offered by the parliament; but, in the further progress of the treaty, legal difficulties are stated to have arisen which caused it to be laid aside for a time: and as no convenient season for its resumption occurred during the following reign, purveyance, with all the vexations attending it, survived to be swept away with other abuses at the restoration.

The conduct of Bacon in this affair gave the highest satisfaction to the house of commons, whilst his favor with the monarch procured for him in the course of the year the appointment of king's counsel, to which a small salary was added, apparently as a retaining fee for the service of the crown. But neither the most liberal of the professions, nor even the wider field of politics and legislation, could sup-

ply to the genius of Bacon a sufficient sphere of activity; and turning aside for a short space from the career of worldly ambition, in which he had many competitors, to that in which he marched unrivalled and alone, he completed and gave to the world in 1605 his immortal work on the Advancement of learning. He did not however let slip the occasion of complimenting the king at large, in an eloquent dedication, on those his "virtues and qualities which the philosophers call intellectual;" ascribing to him the character of the most learned monarch ever known in Christendom, and ending by declaring his majesty to be invested with "that triplicity which in great veneration was ascribed to the ancient Hermes; the power and fortune of a king, the knowledge and illumination of a priest, and the learning and universality of a philosopher."

At the same time this extraordinary man, with true self-knowledge, thus expressed himself in a letter to his learned friend sir Thomas Bodley, accompanying a copy of his work. .... "I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done; and in absence are many errors, which I willingly acknowledge; and amongst the rest, this great one that led the rest; that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes; for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind. Therefore, calling myself home, I have now for a time enjoyed myself: whereof likewise

likewise I desire to make the world partaker." In the reception of his speculations by the public, however, his hopes were not to be immediately gratified. The experience of ages has shown, that he who assumes the character of a reformer in the art of reasoning, an expositor of the errors of the schools, soars above the region of popular applause only to excite the alarms, or encounter the hostility, of the learned; whose pride, whose prejudices, and whose interests he offends or threatens. Thus, whilst a few inquisitive and enlightened spirits, such as Jonson and Wotton and Raleigh, hailed with delight and awe the discoveries of their great contemporary, born to establish an era in the progress of the human mind, the erudite disciples of ancient error busied themselves in depreciating and decrying what they would not or could not understand. Osborn adverts to their attempts in the following excellent caution addressed to his son: "Launch not too suddenly into a rough and deep censure of such authors as you find go contrary to the high tide of opinion for the present, lest, compelled to a retractation, you confess yourself to be misled by the common prejudice daily found in the ways of desert. As such must needs be that would have cashiered Bacon's 'Advancement of learning' as an heretical and impertinent piece, but for an invincible strength of contrary judgements that came to his rescue from beyond the seas[a]."

[a] Osborn's *Advice*, c. 10.

James was too well acquainted with the value of such a servant and such an adulator as Bacon, to resign him to a life of literature. Neither the insinuations of Cecil, who covertly depreciated his talents for business, nor the attacks of Coke, who openly disparaged his knowledge of the law, prevented him from being employed and consulted by his sovereign. The good offices of lord-chancellor Ellesmere came in aid of these beginnings of royal favor, and in 1607 he was nominated to the office of solicitor-general, sought by him in vain on two or three previous vacancies. Business, both legal and parliamentary, now flowed in upon him with a full stream, and nearly absorbed that precious time which he once declared himself to have dedicated to higher and better purposes; but his native ardor remained unquenched, and it struggled on through every obstacle to the accomplishment of those great designs by which his memory has been at once perpetuated and in some measure redeemed.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

1604.

Peace with Spain,—terms murmured at.—Proofs that the English ministers were bribed.—King's progress to Royston.—Puritans imprisoned for petitioning.—Cruel treatment of Pound a catholic.—Philip Herbert a favorite,—character of him,—anecdotes of his marriage.—Venetian ambassador and duke of Holst.—Festivities.—The mask.—Ben Jonson's mask of Blackness,—lady performers.—Countess of Bedford,—verses on her—ladies Derby—S. Herbert—Suffolk—E. Howard—A. Herbert—Effingham—M. Wrothe.—Prince Charles created duke of York.—New year's gifts disused.

THE principal political event of the summer of 1604 was the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Spain. The articles of this accommodation excited a general clamor against the weakness of the king and the corruption of his counsellors. A positive stipulation which they contained, that no aids whatever should be afforded by England to the united provinces in their contest with Spain, was considered as highly derogatory to national honor and to the protestant cause; and, on the whole, the terms were perceived to be such as neither the success of the past war nor the actual state of the dominions of Philip III. could authorize him to demand, or justify the king of Great Britain in conceding.

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The chief odium of this measure fell upon the earls of Suffolk and Northampton, whose predilections had been long notorious; and it was openly reported that the first had reared his magnificent seat of Audley Inn, and the second his splendid mansion in the Strand, on foundations of Spanish gold. These charges, and similar ones against others of James's courtiers and favorites, though matter of great publicity, were never brought forward in parliament or rendered the subject of any judicial inquiry; consequently no particulars are known respecting the sums paid or the number of individuals by whom they were shared; but numerous hints and notices in the letters and memoirs of the day, fully establish the general fact, that the peace was purchased; and afford frightful glimpses of the extent to which corruption had diffused itself. The patriotic sir Henry Nevil, in a letter to Winwood, thus speaks. . . . "We are now full of jollity, giving entertainment to the constable (of Castille, the Spanish ambassador), who, as I hear, hath neither in pomp nor sufficiency answered the expectation we have conceived of him. The peace is to be ratified by the king upon Sunday next, and his oath taken, and that day the king intends to feast him, and the next day to dismiss him, and to return to his interrupted progress, which he much affects. . . . We say the Spanish ambassadors have taken up many jewels here, we suppose to bestow upon our grandees; so not to leave any advantage to the French, who began that angling fashion unto them, with the king's

king's privity and all men's wonder[a]." Robert Cecil loved the Spaniards no better than became a protestant of the school of Burleigh and Elizabeth, and there is reason to believe that he always preserved himself pure from the pollution of foreign bribes; but he was probably overruled by the king in the conclusion of this treaty. In a letter to Winwood, then resident at the Hague, he thus betrays his anxiety concerning the reception which it was likely to encounter in Holland...." I have thought good to send you the substance of our treaty, which you may use at your discretion, and as you hear it spoken of advertise me, for I would be glad to hear how the several wits do descant thereupon." He adds the following trait of the profusion which James had introduced into his English court: "The constable with the rest of the commissioners, all save Taxis, are departing from London this morning; during the time of whose abode here his majesty hath been very royal and magnificent in his entertainment; the charge of all, since the constable's first coming to Somerset-house, being, at the least, 300*l.* a day."

Levinus Monke also, secretary to Cecil, writes thus in a letter to Winwood....." I am sorry to understand the failing of the enterprise of Antwerp; I could wish it might go on some other way; for it would give exceeding great reputation to the States, and I do think the most part of our English good

[a] Winwood, ii. pp. 25, 26.

patriots

patriots would rejoice in it, that are not intoxicated by the Spanish pistoles[a]."

Sir Charles Cornwallis, who attended the lord-admiral in his embassy to Spain, and remained behind him in the quality of lieger, or resident, thus opens his mind on the subject in a confidential letter to the secretary, now lord Cranborne: "I find here by many arguments that this peace came opportunely for this kingdom, and is admired of all Europe, yea of this kingdom itself, how it was possible, with so advantageous conditions to them, and so little profitable to our realm, it could be effected. The duke of Anera, discoursing with one of great privacy and trust with him, after that he heard that the peace was in such form concluded, said in plain terms, that the king and counsellors of England had not their senses when in such sort they agreed upon it; and some Spaniards have lately reported that the king of Spain's money purchased this quiet; otherwise peace with so good conditions would never have been obtained[b]."

The fact is brought home in a different manner by the following passage of a letter from William Fowler, a Scotchman and secretary to the queen, to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated October 1604: "The Spanish ambassador hath been here upon Monday, and hath presented gifts to the earl of Pembroke, Southampton, Dirleton, and others; and I will indirectly inquire if any be received for your

[a] Winwood, ii. 59.

[b] *Ibid.* ii. 75.

lordship's

lordship's self. This remembering proceeds, either to convail their former wants or former wrongs, being done after the feast and the fair[a]."

No sooner had the king dispatched the Spanish ambassador, than, proroguing the parliament, he set out on his progress; fully resolved to suffer no cares of empire to interfere with his darling amusement of hunting, which he pursued for many weeks in the neighbourhood of Royston, more, as it should seem, to his own content than to that of his subjects, whether rich or poor. A few extracts from contemporary letters will best explain the principal objects of interest at the court during this period of recess.

"The puritans about Royston," writes a friend to Mr. Winwood, "to the number of about eight and twenty, presented to the king, as he was hunting there, a petition in favor of their ministers.... The king took in ill part this disorderly proceeding, commanded them presently to depart, and to depute ten of the wisest among them to declare their grievances, which ten were sent to the council, who after examination gave them their *mittimus:* upon their bail they are bound over to be ready to answer the matter before the lords, when they shall be summoned.... This last star-chamber day was determined the case of one Pound; a gentleman who accused serjeant Philips of injustice for condemning to death a neighbour of his only for entertaining of a jesuit. The lords by their sentence declared the

[a] Winwood, ii. 26.

condemnation

condemnation to be lawful, condemned Pound to lose one of his ears here in London, and the other in the country where he dwelleth, to fine 1000*l.*, and to endure perpetual imprisonment, if he impeach not those that advised him to commence his suit; and if he would confess, this sentence should be revoked, and their lordships would otherwise determine according to reason. In the mean time, Pound lieth close prisoner in the Tower[a]."

Of the victim of star-chamber justice here adverted to, the following notice occurs in father Parsons's reply to king James's defence of the oath of allegiance:—"I pass over the cruel sentence of cutting off the ears of so ancient and venerable a gentleman as is Mr. Thomas Pound, that had lived above thirty years in sundry prisons, only for being a catholic, and now last, in his old age, had that honor from God, as to be sentenced to leese his ears, and stand on the pillory in divers markets, for complaining of hard measure and unjust execution used against catholics, contrary, as he presumed, to his majesty's intention[b]."

The following "reasonable pretty jest" is related in a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury to have also happened at Royston: "There was one of the king's special hounds, called Jowler, missing one day: the king was much displeased that he was wanted; notwithstanding, went a hunting. The next day, when they were on the field, Jowler came in amongst the

[a] Winwood, ii. 36.

[b] Butler's *Memoirs of English Catholics*, i. 297.

rest

rest of the hounds; the king was told of him, and was very glad; and looking on him spied a paper about his neck, and in the paper was written;—'Good Mr. Jowler, we pray you speak to the king (for he hears you every day, and so he doth not us) that it will please his majesty to go back to London; for else the country will be undone; all our provision is spent already, and we are not able to entertain him longer.' It was taken for a jest, and so passed over; for his majesty intends to lie there yet a fortnight[a]." The anecdote may be regarded as a luminous comment on Bacon's exposition of the abuses of purveyance.

James's propensity to favoritism first displayed itself in England about this time, in the extraordinary bounties which he was pleased to lavish on Philip Herbert, brother of William earl of Pembroke. Osborn has described this personage, whom he served as master of the horse, as one of the most contemptible of mankind; and he has supported his invective by some disgraceful anecdotes, founded indeed in fact, but highly colored by exaggeration and malice. Lord Clarendon, in more measured terms, but not without that hostile bias which he uniformly exhibits with respect to the partisans of the parliament in the great contest of Charles's days, expatiates at some length on his character and fortunes. "The earl of Montgomery," says he, "being a young man scarce of age at the entrance of king James, had the good fortune, by the comeli-

[a] *Illustrations*, iii. 245.

ness

ness of his person, his skill and indefatigable industry in hunting, to be the first who drew the king's eyes towards him with affection; which was quickly so far improved, that he had the reputation of a favorite. Before the end of the first or second year, he was made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber and earl of Montgomery; which did the king no harm; for, besides that he received the king's bounty with more moderation than others who succeeded him, he was generally known, and as generally esteemed, being the son of one earl of Pembroke and younger brother to another, who liberally supplied his expense, beyond what his annuity from his father would bear.

"He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well; which his master loved him the better for (being at his first coming into England very jealous of those who had the reputation of great parts), and to be believed honest and generous, which made him many friends and left him then no enemy[a]." It appears that a brutal violence of temper, and a profligacy of manners which grew upon the feeble character of Herbert by long indulgence, procured him in after life the hatred of many, and the contempt of all men. But he was now in his zenith, and on occasion of his marriage, the favor of the king manifested itself in that unmeasured bounty which he delighted to shower upon the possessors of his affection: Lady Susan Vere, daughter of the earl of Oxford, and

[a] Lord Clarendon's *History*, vol. i. p. 59.

niece

niece by her mother to the secretary, was the object of Herbert's choice. The parties, "after long love," were contracted without the knowledge of the friends on either side; but the king, "taking the whole matter on himself, made peace on all sides." Crown lands to the amount of more than 1000*l.* a year were settled on the bridegroom, and masks and revels, in which no cost was spared, gave splendor to the celebration of the nuptials. The ceremony, as described in a letter from sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. Winwood, displays in lively colors the manners of the court and of the sovereign.

"On St. John's day we had the marriage of sir Philip Herbert and the lady Susan performed at Whitehall, with all the honor could be done a great favorite. The court was great, and for that day put on the best bravery. The prince and duke of Holst led the bride to church; the queen followed her from thence. The king gave her; and she in her tresses and trinkets brided and bridled it so handsomely, and indeed became herself so well, that the king said, if he were unmarried, he would not give her but keep her himself. The marriage dinner was kept in the great chamber, where the prince and the duke of Holst and the great lords and ladies accompanied the bride. The ambassador of Venice was the only bidden guest of strangers, and he had a place above the duke of Holst, which the duke took not well. But after dinner he was as little pleased himself; for, being brought into the closet . . . . he was then suffered to walk out, his supper unthought of. At night

night there was a mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion..... There was no small loss that night of chains and jewels, and many great ladies were made shorter by the skirts..... The presents of plate and other things given by the noblemen were valued at 2500*l.*; but that which made it a good marriage was a gift of the king's of 500*l.* land for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the council-chamber, where the king, in his shirt and night-gown, gave them a *reveille matin* before they were up..... No ceremony was omitted of bridecakes, points, garters and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the court[a].

The favors distributed at this sumptuous wedding were estimated at 1000*l.*

The dispute of precedence between the Venetian ambassador and the duke of Holst, is highly characteristic of the parties. We learn from the diary of sir John Finett, master of the ceremonies, that the Venetian was, of all the ambassadors resident at the court of London, the most vigilantly punctilious, because the claims which he advanced, in the name of his republic, to an equality with the representatives of crowned heads, were often eluded or contested, and always received with jealousy.

On the other hand, the duke of Holst, a younger branch of the house of Denmark, who had arrived with a slender train and made but an insignificant

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[a] Winwood, ii. 43.

figure

figure at his sister's court, had reasons equally cogent for the pertinacious defence of his dignity. During his stay in England we learn that he had twenty dishes of meat allowed him every meal, and some of the guard appointed to attend him. It may be observed, by the way, that the entertainment of the Danish and German relations, who arrived in multitudes to pay their respects and congratulations to the king and queen of Great Britain, and whose expenses were always defrayed, appears to have formed no insignificant item in the household accounts.

Nothing was now thought of at court but amusements and festivity. The brutal sports of the cockpit, disused and even prohibited by Elizabeth, were revived, and served to divert the king twice a week in the intervals of hunting: revels and a mask of noblemen and gentlemen were exhibited in honor of sir Philip Herbert's nuptials, and the queen caused preparations to be made for the performance of a still more sumptuous mask, on Twelfth night, in which parts were to be sustained by herself and by eleven other ladies of the highest rank in the country.

This pompous and operose species of entertainment, which the indolence or the economy of modern greatness has long since consigned to disuse, was the favorite amusement at the court of Great Britain; and since it was under the auspices of James the first and his consort that it attained its acme of fashion and splendor, a sketch of its distinguishing features will not here be misplaced. The general

purpose

purpose of the mask, in which it bore some resemblance to the Italian opera, appears to have been that of associating all the imitative and all the decorative arts in the production of scenes of splendid enchantment, which the intervention of poetical fable was to unite and form into a whole. But two circumstances, the rank, and often the sex, of a portion of the performers, and the nature of the occasions on which these entertainments were usually commanded, overruled the genius of the poet, and, besides rendering indispensable the introduction of complimentary allusions, obliged him to provide for the appearance of a number of mute dancing personages to be represented by the royal or noble amateurs, whilst the whole burden of dialogue and singing was to be devolved on a small number of professional assistants.

Every thing resembling dramatic interest was thus inevitably excluded; but the absence of plot and incident left the writer at liberty to lavish all his stores of eloquence, of harmony and of fancy, on the addresses of allegorical and mythological beings, and on the appropriate songs with which they were interspersed; whilst the whole art of the scene-painter and machinist was placed at his disposal. Solemn groves or pastoral valleys, gloomy caves or stormy oceans, appeared at his command to form appropriate backgrounds to his figures, whom it was his further privilege to land upon the stage from a car drawn by winged dragons, to disclose in the bosom of a parting cloud, or to roll forwards in

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the shell-formed chariot of Neptune, ushered by the sounding conchs of the Tritons, and attended by dolphins and mermaids.

The composition of these fanciful pieces was a task frequently imposed upon the powers of Jonson; and it was one in which he delighted and excelled. To construct upon a foundation of historical or mythological tradition a slight but apposite fable; to enrich it, for the select few, with allusions drawn from the most recondite sources; to expound it to the eye by symbols of learned significance; and to impart something of the classical and the appropriate to the music, the dances, the costly and cumbrous machinery, the varied decorations and the gorgeous dresses, essential to these studied exhibitions of luxury and profusion, seem to have been to him rather an animating exercise than an irksome labor. The march of his heroic verse beneath the double weight of erudition and of magnificence, is unembarrassed and stately; while the dance of his lyric measures is festive, light and graceful in an eminent degree. Strains of the highest poetry of which the muse of Jonson was capable, animate his masks; while their number and their unfailing variety excite not only admiration but wonder. The glowing sentiments of virtue and of heroism with which they abound, reflect still higher honor on the poet; but they might almost be regarded as a covert satire on the manners of the court for which this Samson of learning was compelled to perform his feats of agility and strength.

The Twelfth-night mask composed by him on this occasion is entitled "The mask of blackness." In compliance with the very vulgar taste of her majesty, he was obliged to introduce into it twelve Æthiopian nymphs, daughters of the Niger, who make a voyage to Great Britain in search of a wash to whiten their complexions: the parts of these negresses, who do nothing but dance, were sustained by the queen and the other ladies, with blackened faces; and the first scene displayed them seated in an enormous shell of mother-of-pearl. With respect to the queen, who, according to the testimony of Osborn was gifted with "a skin far more amiable than the features it covered," the choice of this strange disguise was peculiarly injudicious, and it appears to have cast an air of ridicule, or grotesque, over the whole performance; which is thus satirically described by sir Dudley Carleton, an eye-witness of the scene...."At night we had the queen's mask in the banqueting house, or rather her pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell in form of a scallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the queen with my lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the ladies Suffolk, Derby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham, and Bevil. Their appearance was rich, but too light and courtesan-

tesan-like for such great ones. Instead of vizards, their faces and arms up to the elbows were painted black, which was disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; but it became them nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly sight than a troop of lean-cheeked Moors. The Spanish and Venetian ambassadors were both present, and sat by the king in state; at which monsieur Beaumont quarrels so extremely, that he saith the whole court is Spanish. But, by his favor, he should fall out with none but himself, for they were all indifferently invited to come as private men to a private sport; which he refusing, the Spanish ambassador willingly accepted; and being there, seeing no cause to the contrary, he put off don Taxis and took upon him El Senõr Embaxadour; wherein he outstripped our little Monsieur..... He took out the queen, and forgot not to kiss her hand, though there was danger it would have left a mark on his lips. The night's work was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went tables and tressels before one bit was touched[a]."

Of the female associates of her majesty here enumerated, several acquired in various modes celebrity or notoriety, and appear to require something beyond a bare enumeration.

Lucy countess of Bedford, daughter, and finally, by the death of an amiable brother, heiress, of the

[a] Winwood, ii. 44.

first lord Harrington of Exton, possessed beauty as well as rank and fortune; and this combination of advantages appears to have produced some unfavorable effects, since caprice and prodigality are enumerated as leading features of her character. But amongst her tastes, or her vanities, a fondness for poetry was conspicuous, and one of her modes of expense was bounty towards the learned. Amongst the printed letters of the once-celebrated Dr. Donne, are several addressed to this lady, all in that strain of quaint and far-fetched compliment which this unfortunate man was accustomed to force from his reluctant genius in requital of the pecuniary favors of his noble patrons. Drayton, Daniel and Jonson are also to be reckoned among her poetical eulogists. Through the cloud of incense which they have breathed around her, it is impossible to discern with clearness the true image of her mind; but Jonson always appears inspired in writing of her; and we may hope that there is truth as well as poetry in the eulogy bestowed in the following exquisite lines.

ON LUCY COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

This morning, timely rapt with holy fire,
I thought to form unto my zealous Muse
What kind of creature I could most desire
To honor, serve and love; as poets use.

I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,
Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great;
I meant the day-star should not brighter rise,
Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.

I meant

I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride;
I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
Fit in that softer bosom to reside.

Only a learned and a manly soul
I purposed her; that should, with even powers,
The rock, the spindle and the sheers control
Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.
Such when I meant to feign, and wish'd to see,
My Muse bade, Bedford write, and that was she.—

The praise of learning attributed to the countess in these lines, is also ascribed to her by Daniel in one of his poems; and from a letter addressed to her by sir Thomas Roe, it appears that she was skilled in ancient medals. Sir William Temple also, in his Essay on Gardening, has paid the following tribute to her taste and accomplishments: "The perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor Park in Hertfordshire when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the countess of Bedford, esteemed among the greatest wits of her time, and celebrated by Dr. Donne; and with very great care, excellent contrivance, and much cost; but greater sums may be thrown away without effect or honor, if there want sense in proportion to money," &c. This splendid garden, which sir William proceeds minutely to describe, was formed on the slope of a hill, with two terraces placed one above the other, connected by noble flights of steps; it was laid out in parterre and in wilderness, and richly decorated with fountains,

tains, statues, alcoves and cloisters. The model was probably derived from Italy, and it appears to have been very generally followed, on various scales of taste and magnificence, by the English gentry and nobility of that period. The garden described by lord Bacon in his essay on the subject is on a similar plan. But the prodigality of this accomplished woman banished her from the paradise which she had created around her; and she found herself compelled to dispose of Moor Park to the equally prodigal and not less accomplished William earl of Pembroke, whose possession of it seems also to have been transient.

There were at this time two countesses of Derby; but the performer in the queen's mask was probably not the dowager, who had remarried with lord Ellesmere, but the other, called for distinction the young lady, who was a daughter of Edward earl of Oxford by Anne Cecil daughter of lord Burleigh; she appears to have been a favorite niece of the secretary's, but we do not find any peculiar celebrity attached to her name. Lady Susan Herbert, a younger sister of lady Derby, was the bride of sir Philip Herbert, and one of the reigning beauties of the court: she was also the author of a little book of devotion entitled "Eusebia, expressing briefly the soul's praying robes."

The countess of Suffolk was a lady notorious for the abuse of her personal charms, which were at last destroyed by the small pox, and of her court interest, which she afterwards deservedly forfeited.

She

She was accused of being a large sharer in the Spanish bribes, and probably not without justice: but however this might be, her scandalous venality and rapacity became some years afterwards matter of judicial proof, and involved in ruin and disgrace, along with herself, her less guilty but not blameless husband.

The lady Elizabeth Howard here mentioned, was probably lady Suffolk's daughter, afterwards married to Edward Knolles earl of Banbury. She exhibited the pernicious effects of maternal bad example by misconduct, which had the cruel result of fixing on her eldest son the stigma and the penalties of illegitimacy. Lady Rich was the favorite and devoted sister of the unfortunate earl of Essex, whom she strongly resembled in the most striking features of character; with something of his talents and much of his activity, she united the same warm passions, the same fatal impetuosity. Her story contains much to blame and much to pity. That authoritative interference which the guardians of this age judged it allowable, or perhaps meritorious, to exert, had forbidden her to crown the wishes of sir Charles Blount, the favored lover of her youth, and compelled her to bestow her hand on lord Rich, a man whom she detested: but no considerations had sufficed to restrain her from cherishing in her heart a passion now become criminal: the consequences of its indulgence had been such as compelled lord Rich to sue for a divorce; and it was just after this public note of infamy had been fixed upon her charac-

ter,

ter, and before Blount, now earl of Devonshire, had afforded her the countenance and protection of a husband, that the queen of Great Britain, with the levity which characterized her, had been pleased to select lady Rich as an associate in her royal pastimes.

Lady Anne Herbert, a daughter of the house of Russell and one of the beauties of the time, was the wife of that lord Herbert who is known in later history as the marquis of Worcester. She had been maid of honor to queen Elizabeth, and apparently a favorite; since her nuptials, celebrated with much festivity and splendor, had been sanctioned by the approbation, and graced by the presence, of that illustrious champion of the single state.

Lady Bevil was probably a sister of the countess of Suffolk, and subsequently countess of Rutland.

Lady Walsingham was of the queen's household.

Viscountess Effingham, married to the eldest son of the earl of Nottingham, was a daughter of lord St. John of Bletsho: of her a characteristic anecdote is preserved.

In the diary of sir John Finett it is related, that at the nuptial feast of the princess Elizabeth, the lord-chamberlain had ordered that the lady of the French ambassador should be placed at table next to the countesses, and above the baronesses; but the viscountess of Effingham, "standing to her woman's right," refused to move lower, and so held the upper hand of the ambassador's lady till after dinner; when the ambassador, hearing of the circumstance, ordered

ordered his wife's coach. With much difficulty, however, the countess of Kildare and the viscountess Haddington consenting to resign their places, the ambassadress was prevailed upon to stay; "the lady of Effingham in the interim forbearing, with rather too much than too little stomach, both her supper and the company."

One of these lady-performers, whose name is by some accident omitted in the enumeration of sir Dudley Carleton, was Mary, wife of sir Robert Wroth, and daughter of Robert lord Sidney. Whilst yet a child she had been distinguished and caressed by queen Elizabeth; in maturer years she exhibited both the virtues and the accomplishments of a Sidney. She had some merit as a poet, and she published in 1621 a pastoral romance called Urania, modelled probably upon the Arcadia, and interspersed like it with sonnets, songs and other small pieces of verse. Though now totally neglected, the Urania had in its day considerable vogue, and was accounted a highly elegant production: it appears however that the warmth of its language called forth censures; an extraordinary circumstance, considering the estimable character, and the sex, of the writer. Her husband, to whom Jonson has addressed an excellent moral epistle in commendation of the innocence and felicity of the country life to which sir Robert devoted himself, appears to have been also a votary of the muses; and with his concurrence the residence of his lady became, like that of her aunt, the celebrated countess of Pembroke, the

resort

resort and asylum of men of letters. Jonson dedicated to this distinguished woman his admirable comedy of the Alchemist, and her name is otherwise transmitted with honor to posterity as the friend of merit and the patroness of genius in distress.

The second son of the king, prince Charles, had not accompanied the other branches of the royal family in their removal from Scotland, probably on account of the feeble state of his health: but the king now caused him to be brought into England; and no sooner did he arrive than preparations were made for his solemn installation in the title and honor of duke of York. Knights of the Bath were made as at a coronation; the ceremony of creation was performed with all the pomp and parade of the new court; and the queen's mask, which was exhibited on the evening of the same day, seems to have been designed as a further celebration of the event. The poor child on whose unconscious head all this magnificence was lavished, though nearly five years of age, was still unable to stand and to speak, owing to the weakness and distortion of his limbs, and the malconformation of his mouth; and it might be suggested, that sensibility or good taste would have caused his royal parents to shrink from this premature exposure of so unfortunate an object to the public gaze.

Whilst the king was thus draining his coffers to enrich his favorites and courtiers, and to gratify the passion of his consort for show and pageantry, his nobles and officers judged it fit to emancipate themselves

selves by common consent from the burden of new year's gifts to the sovereign; and even the purses of gold customarily offered by the bishops and by privy-councillors were no longer, it seems, "to be had without asking." These gifts, the annual amount of which was by no means inconsiderable, were a kind of tribute which had been punctually, if not cheerfully, rendered to the predecessor of James, and one from which the courtiers of that princess would not, it may be surmised, have found it quite so easy to establish an exemption.

CHAPTER VIII.

1605.

Letter of news.—Privy seals.—Earl of Nottingham's Spanish embassy.—Stone the jester.—Embassy of the earl of Herts to Brussels.—Anecdotes of the earl of Herts,—his quarrel with lord Salisbury.—Treatment of the old courtiers.—License of the players.—King's love of wit.—Comedy of Eastward Hoe!—Roaring boys and Roysters.—Sleeping preacher.—Princess born,—honors and gifts conferred at the christening.—Enforcement of conformity against puritans.—Catholics menaced.—Gunpowder plot discovered.—Catesby.—Tresham.—Percy.—Garnet.—Guy Fawkes.—Sir W. Stanley.—Proceedings of the conspirators.—Letter to lord Monteagle.—Seizure of Fawkes.—The conspirators proceed to Warwickshire.—Their revolt and defeat.—Hagley hall.—Lyttelton family.—Habington family.—Hendlip hall.—Sir Everard Digby.

NO sooner were the Christmas festivities ended, than the king hurried down to Royston, his favorite sporting station, "where and thereabout," as Mr. Chamberlain writes to Winwood on Jan. 26th, "he hath continued ever since, and finds such felicity in that hunting life, that he hath written to the council that it is the only means to maintain his health, which being the health and welfare of us all, he desires them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much business. He continues still," adds Chamberlain,

Chamberlain, "his wonted bounty, and hath lately given the duke of Holst 4000*l.*, besides 100*l.* a week he is allowed for his expense; and 200*l.* a year in fee-farm to the lord of Fife for his pains in the union and bringing up the young duke of York. You have heard of the putting off the parliament till October, the reason whereof I cannot understand nor reach unto, unless it be that they would have all the privy seals paid in, and that they would have those matters of the church thoroughly settled; wherein it is hard to say what course were best to take, for that more show themselves opposite than was suspected, and the bishops themselves are loth to proceed too rigorously in casting out and depriving so many well-reputed of for life and learning, only the king is constant to have all come to conformity. Though he seek to be very private and retired where he is, yet he is much importuned with petitions in their behalf, and with foolish prophecies of danger to ensue; and great speech we hear of a strange apparition lately at Berwick of two armies that fought a long time with horse, foot and ordnance. Our merchants complain exceedingly of their hard usage in Spain, but promise is made, that upon the lord-admiral's coming, all shall be amended[a]."

From this instructive letter of news we learn, both that James had already recurred to the illegal and

[a] Winwood, ii. 46.

oppressive

oppressive mode of raising money by privy seals, that is, by forced loans, so often practised by his predecessor, and that he had begun to dread the interference of parliament with respect to this exertion of prerogative.

The last paragraph refers to the sumptuous embassy about to be undertaken by the earl of Nottingham, for the purpose of receiving the oath of the king of Spain to the treaty which he had recently concluded with England. For this mission it was judged that great talents were not required, and the earl had to recommend him for the employment, the dignity of lord-admiral; the noble name of Howard; a person commanding and even handsome at the age of seventy; an air of pomp and grandeur, and a perfect knowledge of courts; to say nothing of his triumph over the Armada. He begged earnestly to be created a duke on the occasion; but his official rank being deemed sufficient, this favor was refused. To make amends, he was to bear the title of his Excellency; and the sum of 15,000*l.* was granted him for his expenses, besides two king's ships for his transport. His vanity and his habits of expense induced him to conduct his preparations on a scale of magnificence, and no fewer than six lords and fifty knights were numbered in his retinue. But all these circumstances of honor were insufficient to protect him from the ridicule of the court, as we partly learn from a lively passage in a letter of sir Dudley Carleton's.

"My

"My lord-admiral's number is 500, and he swears 500 oaths he will not admit of one man more. But if he will stand to that rate, and take in one as another will desire to be discharged, in my opinion all men's turns will be served. There was great execution done lately upon Stone the fool, who was well whipped in Bridewell for a blasphemous speech, "that there went 60 fools into Spain besides my lord-admiral and his two sons." But he is now at liberty again, and for that unexpected release gives his lordship the praise of a very pitiful lord[a]."

The Spaniards had all possible reason to be satisfied both with the terms of the peace and with the person of the ambassador, who, in base oblivion of the great contest of the year 1588 in which his own laurels had been won, was now the friend, the advocate, the pensioner of Spain. Accordingly, they lavished upon him and his followers, the highest honors, the most sumptuous entertainments, and the richest gifts which an almost ruined country could supply. Besides defraying all his charges of diet, carriage and conveyance as far as Valladolid, the Spanish monarch bestowed upon the admiral at parting, presents to the value of 20,000*l.* besides a pension of 12,000 crowns to himself, and other pensions amounting to 20,000 crowns more, distributed

[a] Winwood, ii. 52. Stone revenged himself however on the author of his chastisement by the shrewd remark, "I might have called my lord Cranborne fool often enough before he would have had me whipped for it."

amongst

amongst his followers[a]:" bribes which appear to have startled the patriotism neither of the ambassador nor of any other person concerned. It appears, however, that some indiscretions of speech or conduct into which the vanity of Nottingham had betrayed him whilst in Spain, were so represented to his master as to procure him on his return a reception which he retired to digest at leisure at his country seat.

Another embassy was at the same time to be dispatched to Brussels, for the purpose of taking the oath of the archduke Albert to the peace, in which, as governor of the Netherlands, he was a party concerned; and for this mission the ministers of James turned their eyes on the earl of Hertford. It was evidently well understood by this nobleman, that his wealth alone had obtained for him what was styled the honor of this appointment, and that he would be expected to serve the king chiefly at his own cost. For this reason probably, as well as on account of his advanced age, he at first peremptorily refused to go; and it was not till after the receipt of a "very express letter from the king, to injoin him to obedience, all excuses set apart," that he yielded to take upon him so heavy a burden. But no sooner had Hertford pledged himself to the undertaking, than he declared with spirit, that he would now be "as free as another" in his preparations. On these it is stated that he expended 10,000*l*.

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[a] Carte.

beyond

beyond his allowance, and nothing appears to have been omitted by him which his own credit, or the dignity of his country, could be thought to require. In what manner his pains and expense were requited, will best appear from the remarkable anecdote contained in the following letter written by Donne; for the better understanding of which, the reader will bear in mind, that the acknowledged legality of the marriage of this earl of Hertford with lady Catherine Grey had transferred upon their son, lord Beauchamp, the claims of the ill-fated Suffolk line; —claims however which had not excited even a whisper against the succession of the king of Scots: "I cannot yet serve you with those books of which your letter spake. In recompense, I will tell you a story, which, if I had had leisure to have told it you when it was fresh, which was upon Thursday last, might have had some grace for the rareness, and would have tried your love to me, how far you would adventure to believe an improbable thing for my sake who relates it. That day in the morning, there was some end made, by the earl of Salisbury and others, who were arbitrators in some differences between Hertford and Monteagle; Hertford was ill satisfied in it, and declared himself so far as to say, he expected better usage in respect not only of his cause but of his expense and service in his ambassage; to which Salisbury replied, that considering how things stood between his Majesty and Hertford house at the king's entrance, the king had done him special

favor in that employment of honor and confidence, by declaring in so public and great an act and testimony, that he had no ill affection towards him. Hertford answered, that he was then and ever an honest man to the king; and Salisbury said he denied not that, but yet solemnly repeated his first words again. So that Hertford seemed not to make answer, but, pursuing his own word, said, that whosoever denied him to have been an honest man to the king, lied. Salisbury asked him if he directed that upon him; Hertford said, upon any who denied this. The earnestness of both was such, as Salisbury accepted it to himself, and made protestation before the lords present, that he would do nothing else till he had honorably put off that lie. Within an hour after, Salisbury sent him a direct challenge by his servant Mr. Knightley. Hertford required only an hour's leisure of consideration (it is said it was only to inform himself of the especial danger of so dealing with a counsellor), but he returned his acceptation: and all circumstances were so clearly handled between them, that St. James's was agreed for the place, and they were both come from their several lodgings, and upon the way to have met, when they were interrupted by such as from the king were sent to have care of it[a]."

The indiscriminate bounty of the king had already begun to defeat the only purpose which it could

[a] Donne's *Letters*, p. 214.

ever

ever have been expected to answer, that of attaching all who approached him. It was no longer possible for him to gratify the desires of his new courtiers without neglecting the claims of the old household of his predecessor; nor could he bestow lavish gifts of crown land on his favorites of to-day, without attempting cruel and arbitrary resumptions of the long established grants of former princes.

A court letter of the period treats feelingly on these matters: "The old servants are in a manner rather neglected than in the least measure countenanced:.... The oldest officers in court retire themselves, and those more young with their money are suffered to purchase preferment; but, in general, the form is even as you left it, only, through the number of people, meat and drink groweth scarce. The king is purposed to take all woods into his hands within the compass of three miles from the water's side, and near unto his houses, and will allow to such as out of time have enjoyed them as their own, recompense according to discretion; which course will breed in many much discontent."

"The players," proceeds the writer, "do not forbear to present upon their stage the whole course of this present time; not sparing either king, state, or religion, in so great absurdity, and with such liberty, that any would be afraid to hear them. There is a book lately published, but not yet to be had, touching the late peace; wherein the author, without reservation or respect, discovers the whole intention, nameth the complotters, and showeth the reason

why it was concluded[a]." Of the license of the theatres, here adverted to, a striking instance had recently occurred in the representation of a piece founded on the Gowrie conspiracy, in which the monarch in person was without hesitation introduced on the stage. The play was indeed suppressed after a few representations, at the instance of several privy councillors; but it does not appear that any punishment was inflicted either on the author or on the theatrical manager. In fact, it was never the practice of James to visit with severity failures in the respect due to his person; for his temper, though subject to gusts of passion, was, with some exceptions, mild and placable, and his genuine love of wit pleaded strongly in behalf of literary offenders. To this effect Howel the letter-writer has given us the following anecdote:

"As I remember, some years since, there was a very abusive satire in verse brought to our king; and as the passages were a-reading before him, he often said, that if there were no more men in England, the rogue should hang for it. At last, being come to the conclusion, which was, after all his railing,

'Now God preserve the king, the queen, the peers,
'And grant the author long may wear his ears!'

this pleased him so well, that he broke into a laughter, and said, 'By my soul, so thou shalt for me;' thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty knave[b]."

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[a] Winwood, ii. 54. [b] Howel's *Letters*, part i. let. xxx.

But

But the courtiers and countrymen of James, irritated by a sense of the mingled envy and contempt with which they were regarded by the English public, were little disposed to acquiesce in the forbearance of their master. A comedy called Eastward Hoe! the joint production of onson, Chapman and Marston, contained the following speech: "You shall live freely there," (that is, in Virginia,) "without serjeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers; only a few industrious Scots perhaps, who are indeed dispersed over the face of the whole earth. But as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out on't, in the world, than they are: and for my part, I would a hundred thousand of them were there, for we are all one countrymen now, ye know, and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than here." This stroke of satire, probably rendered more galling by the applause with which a London audience would scarcely fail to welcome it, gave such violent offence to sir James Murray, gentleman of the bed-chamber, that he carried his complaints to the king, and won from him by his importunities an order for the arrest of the authors. In these arbitrary times the chastisement of trespasses of this nature seems to have been entirely discretionary; and it was thought likely to extend in this instance to the slitting of the ears and noses of the culprits. Jonson's high-spirited mother had even gone so far as to procure poison to administer, first to her son, and afterwards to herself, in case no other means should remain

remain of rescuing him from this brutal infliction; but the intercession of powerful friends, and probably the king's personal esteem for Jonson, preserved them from the danger; and the liberation and forgiveness of the terrified poets quickly followed.

Quarrels between the Scotch and English courtiers were frequent; and all the authority and address of the monarch often proved insufficient to check the rage for duelling, which was never so fierce or so prevalent. Meantime, the lax administration of a prince whose time and thoughts were alternately engrossed by the sports of the field, by the squabbles of polemics, and by the trivial incidents of his court, produced in England the same mischievous results as had formerly attended it in Scotland. In the country, the oppressions exercised with impunity by the great, and especially the frequent inclosures of waste land to the injury of the poorer commoners, gave rise to popular commotions almost amounting to rebellion, whilst the streets of London were disturbed day and night with duels and rencounters, and with the outrages of disorderly persons distinguished by various cant names; such as roaring boys, roysters, and others, who roamed about in troops to the terror of the peaceful inhabitant. We do not learn that any steps were taken by James for the suppression of these formidable offenders; perhaps because his royal mind was at this time more worthily occupied with the important object of sifting out the secret of one Haddock called the sleeping preacher.

It was affirmed of this personage that he had the faculty of preaching very learned and excellent sermons in his sleep, though but a dull fellow in his waking hours, and known to be no great scholar. He would even speak "exceeding good Greek and Hebrew" in these nocturnal discourses, being otherwise ignorant, as it was said, of the languages. At Oxford, where this prodigy was first manifested, the fellows and scholars of his college went as regularly to hear Haddock preach in his sleep as to any other sermon; nor were they ever disappointed of his performance; in fact, so methodical was he in his proceedings, that he never failed to pray most fervently for the king and royal family both before and after his discourse, which he regularly opened with a text: yet, on concluding, he would wake, stretch, wonder to see an audience, and remember nothing that he had said. James no sooner heard of his fame, than he sent for him to court, and went in person to hear him; and the secretary caused a bed to be put up for the preacher in his drawing-room in order to accommodate the curious,—or to flatter his master, who had judged the matter so highly deserving of his attention. His majesty proceeded in the business with infinite solemnity and precaution, and, after much cross-examination by himself and his privy councillors, actually prevailed with the man to confess his imposture, and to give in writing the motives both of his beginning and of his continuance in so strange a practice. But his first confession not being sufficiently explicit and minute,

minute, we have a letter from the earl of Worcester, a leading councillor, to the secretary of state, mentioning such points as his majesty, "out of the depth of his wonderful judgement," required to have further cleared.

The addition in April 1605 of another infant to the royal family,—a daughter who died young,—gave occasion to a splendid christening, in honor of which several new titles were conferred; particularly those of earl of Salisbury on the secretary; of earl of Exeter on his brother lord Burleigh; and of earl of Montgomery on sir Philip Herbert. The duke of Holst, lady Arabella Stuart and the countess of Northumberland, a sister of the late earl of Essex, were sponsors. Lady Arabella had obtained on this occasion a promise of a peerage for one of her uncles of the Cavendish family, the choice to rest with herself; but it appears that she would not for some time engage to open her mouth, "so wide as a bristle might enter," in behalf of Mr. William Cavendish, who fervently desired and at length obtained the honor, because he had omitted in his applications to her all mention of any gratuity "which might move her to spend her breath for him." So notoriously venal had these high dignities become under the auspices of a prince profuse, necessitous, and equally reckless of his own and the country's honor!

Meantime, the enforcement of conformity was pursued with a zeal and activity far exceeding all that the former reign had exhibited; and sentences of

of suspension or deprivation were executed without remorse upon such of the clergy as continued resolute in the scruples of puritanism. In the days of Elizabeth, to whom the puritans were the objects rather of disgust and contempt, or at most of a haughty indignation, than of that more inveterate species of animosity in which fear predominates, ministers and even favorites might still venture to extend a kind of half-avowed protection to the suffering sectaries; but James, who, out of his Scotish experience of the inflexible spirit of Calvinism, dreaded much more than he despised it, would endure no representations, would tolerate no lenity or remissness, in the prosecution of doctrines which he had branded rather as seditious than schismatical. Hence the nonconformists were, for the present, abandoned without defence or shelter to the lash of irritated authority.

At the same time additional severity was menaced against the catholics, whose increasing boldness had become the object of alarm. "Our puritans," writes Mr. Chamberlain to Winwood, "go down on all sides; and though our new bishop of London[a] proceeds but slowly, yet at last he hath deprived, silenced, or suspended, all that continue disobedient; in which course he hath won himself great commendations of gravity, wisdom, learning, mildness and temperance, even among that faction; and

[a] This was Dr. Vaughan, a sensible and moderate man, who died in 1607.

indeed

indeed is held every way the most sufficient man of that coat: yet those that are deprived wrangle, and will not be put down, but appeal to the parliament and seek prohibitions by law: but the judges have all given their opinions that the proceedings against them are lawful, and so they cannot be relieved that way. Then they take another course, to ply the king with petitions, the ringleaders whereof were sir Richard and sir Valentine Knightly, sir Edward Montague, with some three-or four-score gentlemen more, that joined in a petition for the ministers of Northamptonshire last week; which was so ill taken that divers of them were convented before the council, and told what danger they had put themselves in by these associations; and that thus combining themselves in a cause against which the king had showed his mislike both by public act and proclamation, was little less than treason; that the subscribing with so many names were *armatæ preces*, and tended to sedition, as had been manifestly seen heretofore, both in Scotland, France and Flanders, in the beginning of those troubles.

" But now, to make all even, and that the papists should not take heart upon the depressing of the puritans, (or that indeed they did so, and flattered themselves with a vain hope of toleration, or that it was cunningly imposed upon them by the contrary part,) upon Sunday last the king made a long and vehement apology for himself in the council-chamber; that he never had any such intention; that if he thought his sons would condescend to any such course,

course, he could wish the kingdom translated to his daughter: that the mitigation of their payments was in consideration that not any one of them had lift up his hand against his coming in, and so he gave them a year of probation to conform themselves; which, seeing it had not wrought that effect, he had fortified all the laws that were against them, and made them stronger, (saving for blood, from which he had a natural aversion,) and commanded they should be put in execution to the uttermost, and that this his intention should be made known publicly; as it was on Wednesday last in the star-chamber by all the lords in very ample manner; and likewise on Thursday to the lord-mayor and aldermen by the recorder[a]."

The catholics, to whom it is pretty certain that James had given hopes of some important relaxations of the penal laws,—if not of an avowed toleration,—were no less surprised than exasperated by this revival of severities which they justly affirmed that they had provoked by no new offences; while the puritans were incensed at the king's assumption of the power of commuting by royal authority the capital punishments enacted against priests and their abettors, for the lighter penalties of banishment, fine and imprisonment. Several statesmen also arraigned the policy of a middle course, which irritated, without suppressing, or materially enfeebling, a sect

[a] Winwood, ii. 49.

which

which it was supposed that no concessions could at this juncture convert into good and loyal subjects.

Affairs were in this state when, on November 5, 1605, the discovery of the memorable gunpowder treason filled the country with consternation and horror. The design of this great and comprehensive mischief to the protestant cause,—a design to be paralleled in atrocity only by the execrable Paris massacre,—is agreed to have originated with Robert Catesby, a gentleman of fortune and consequence, whose history is deserving of attention. He was a descendant of Catesby the noted favorite of Richard III., and enjoyed the family estate of Ashby St. Legers in Northamptonshire. Of his education no particulars have reached us; but it was probably conducted by some priest or jesuit, who impressed upon his tender mind maxims which rendered attachment to the church of Rome the ruling passion of his life. As far back as the year 1588, his influence, his talents, and, above all, his zeal, had rendered him an object of suspicion to the government of Elizabeth, and he was one of those whom it was judged expedient, on the approach of the armada, to commit to safe custody in Wisbeach castle.

Some years afterwards, he contracted a strict intimacy with Henry Garnet, principal of the jesuits in England, to whom he lent his assistance in carrying on certain traitorous negotiations with the court of Spain. He next, in common with several violent men of his own persuasion, threw himself into the

designs

designs of the earl of Essex, but was cautious enough to escape punishment. Garnet relied upon his counsels in the perilous affair of the papal bulls which he had received, prohibiting the recognition of James as king of England; and the priests Watson and Clarke are said to have engaged him in the obscure treason for which they suffered. Soon after the failure of this last attempt, the king of Spain was driven by the necessity of his affairs into a peace with James, which cut off many hopes and projects of the Romish faction. A Spanish invasion could no longer be employed against the British government even as a bug-bear.

No articles in favor of the English catholics had been stipulated by Philip III., as the party seems to have expected, and in the mean time the administration of James gained strength daily: already had the king ventured to disavow the flatteries with which he had formerly soothed the professors of the ancient faith, and there was reason to apprehend that the penal laws of Elizabeth would not long be permitted to sleep. Amidst the rage and desperation which these circumstances were fitted to excite in the bosom of a man who lived to no other end than the restoration of the catholic faith, the first thought of the powder treason burst upon the mind of Catesby. No scruple, no misgiving, appears to have arrested him a single moment; to conceive the design and to begin its accomplishment were with him one act; and he hastened to summon around

him

him associates on whom he could rely for an atrocity of principle not inferior to his own.

Francis Tresham, also a gentleman of family and fortune, was an early depositary of this portentous secret. He seems to have been the fellow-prisoner of Catesby at Wisbeach in the year 1588, and since that time had run nearly the same course of guilt and danger. In the Spanish intrigues and the Essex plot he had been a deep sharer, and he had further sought to advance the cause by a Latin work "On the office of a christian prince," in which he supported in the strongest terms the right and duty of deposing a heretic sovereign, or one by whom heretics were tolerated or in any manner countenanced. By him the proposal of Catesby was hailed with encouragement and applause.

One of the next persons admitted into the plot was Thomas Percy, the only one of the number who seems to have been in any degree actuated by personal motives. It does not appear that this gentleman had participated in the intrigues with Spain; and so far from sharing in the papal scheme for the exclusion of the king of Scots, he had visited this prince shortly before the death of Elizabeth as the accredited agent of certain English catholics, and had returned highly satisfied with the promises, or professions, of the monarch respecting their concerns. The failure of the expectations thus excited had exposed Percy to the suspicions and reproaches of those by whom he was delegated, and he there-

fore

fore felt it as a private injury,—an individual insult,—which he resolved to retaliate on the king by his assassination. But, on communicating this design to Catesby, he was easily prevailed upon to abandon a useless act of solitary vengeance, for the comprehensive and efficacious plan of destruction now unfolded to him.

Five or six other persons, principally gentlemen of family and character in the middle of England, were now received into the confederacy; an oath of secrecy and perseverance was administered to each; afterwards they all received absolution and took the sacrament from the hands of Tesmond, otherwise called Greenway, a jesuit. Some hesitation however still manifested itself among the conspirators, which occasioned Catesby to put the following case of conscience to father Garnet: "Whether, for the good and promotion of the catholic cause against heretics, the necessity of the time and occasion so requiring, it were lawful or not amongst many guilty to destroy also some innocents?" The jesuit answered in the affirmative, and even the weakest brother was thus relieved of every scruple.

The next step was, to provide a person endowed with the requisite skill and courage to prepare the mine and set fire to the train of powder. Guy Fawkes was judged fit for the purpose; and Thomas Winter, who had before visited Spain as an agent in the intrigues of Garnet and Catesby, and had there become acquainted with Fawkes, was sent to Flanders in search of him. This noted character was born of a gentle-

a gentleman's family in Yorkshire, but he had followed from his youth the profession of a soldier of fortune, and the jesuits in Flanders had formerly dispatched him into Spain to concert measures there for an invasion of England.

Sir William Stanley, an English officer who, after traitorously giving up a Dutch town of which he was governor to the Spaniards, had entered the service of the archduke, was also applied to, and requested to provide a force to be landed in England as soon as the blow should be struck. Catesby now solicited the command of a troop of horse in Flanders, by way of a cover for his military preparations, and subscriptions were entered into by the more wealthy of the conspirators for the purchase of horses and armour. It was further agreed, that, after the catastrophe, some of the confederates should hasten into Warwickshire, where the princess Elizabeth was residing at the house of lord Harrington, and possessing themselves of her person proclaim her queen. Percy, whose situation of gentleman-pensioner gave him entrance at court, engaged to make sure of the young duke of York in case he should not be present with his elder brother at the opening of the parliament. In the name of this conspirator, also, a house adjoining the house of lords was hired, in the month of December 1604, in which he and several of his associates shut themselves up and commenced the operation of running a mine under the walls; but, after laboring with indefatigable diligence at their task during a period of some months, an opportunity

portunity offered of hiring the vaults immediately beneath the parliament-house; which they embraced, and, deserting their mine, lodged in this place at different times no less than thirty barrels of gunpowder.

Successive prorogations of parliament postponed the crisis of the enterprise for nearly a year and a half, without causing it, as far as appears, to be betrayed, or deserted, or even repented of, by a single conspirator; so inviolable did they hold the religious sanction which bound them to each other; so effectual had been the casuistry of the jesuits and their own fanaticism in obliterating from their minds all discernment of moral right and wrong, and in expelling all sense of humanity or pity from their hearts!

At length the period so anxiously desired approached: on the 5th of November parliament was to meet; the lords and commons would be assembled in one house; the king in person was to open the session; the queen, the prince of Wales and a brilliant court would attend as spectators;—when all,—unsuspecting, unprepared,—all, without distinction of persons, would be involved in instantaneous, inevitable destruction. The eve of the decisive day saw every thing in readiness: the casks of powder had been lodged without obstacle or accident in the situation best adapted to their destructive purpose, and they were covered with lead and stones to increase their effect; Guy Fawkes, who under the character of Percy's servant had closely

watched the terrible deposit, had now completed his arrangements; the train was laid, the match prepared, the resolute incendiary ready at his post with tinder-box and dark lantern; and furnished with a pocket watch, an implement then little in use, to mark the destined hour. Nothing had been neglected in the design, nothing had failed in the performance; and the conspirators were awaiting the morrow in the full confidence of success, when a circumstance beyond calculation as beyond control,—the intense anxiety of a woman's heart for the safety of a beloved object,—betrayed the plot which she appears to have approved, and saved her country.

There is strong ground to believe that the celebrated letter designed for the preservation of lord Monteagle, was written by his sister, who was the wife of Thomas Habington, of Hendlip in Worcestershire, a person deeply implicated in the meditated crime,—and the progress of the discovery from this mysterious warning is well known. Lord Salisbury seems to have instantly formed a true conjecture of the nature of the intended blow, having possibly received some previous hint of it, and this he suggested to James with such adroitness that the monarch imagined the idea to have been originally his own, and thus was induced to act upon it with double zeal and alacrity. The earl of Suffolk, as lord-chamberlain, was directed to make strict examination the day before the meeting of parliament into all places contiguous to the house of lords: in the cellar he observed Guy Fawkes waiting about in a suspicious manner, and lord

lord Monteagle, who attended the chamberlain, on learning that the place was hired by Percy, a catholic and his friend, no longer doubted the serious import of the warning which had reached him. A magistrate, sent at midnight under color of searching the vault for stolen goods, speedily brought to light its dreadful contents, and, seizing Fawkes, committed him to custody. Then, and not before, the conspirators gave up all hopes of success in their grand design; but instead of making their escape, for which there was still time, they adopted the preposterous resolution of joining their associates in Warwickshire, possessing themselves if possible of the person of the princess Elizabeth, and raising the standard of revolt. With this purpose, Catesby, Percy, and four or five others, rode with all speed to Dunchurch, where sir Everard Digby had undertaken to assemble their friends on pretext of a hunting match.

The neighbouring counties of Stafford and Worcester had long been noted as strong holds of the Romish faith; the leading gentlemen of the vicinity were almost without exception zealous in the cause; and of these counties several of the conspirators themselves, as the two Winters, the Lyttletons, and Habington, were natives; yet it is affirmed that the number of those who appeared in arms on this occasion never exceeded eighty.

The vigilance of lord Harrington preserved the princess from falling into their hands; and sir Fulk Grevil, deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire, exerted

himself in seizing the horses and arms of several suspected gentlemen and making prisoners of their followers. The sheriffs raised the country; and the rebels, being chased through Worcestershire, threw themselves into Holbeach-house on the borders of Staffordshire, the family seat of Stephen Lyttelton, a sharer in the plot. This house, like most country mansions of that age, was in some degree defensible; and the conspirators, well knowing their state to be desperate, resolved to hold it out to the last extremity. But an accidental explosion of a part of their gunpowder, by which several of them were wounded, shattered the roof of the building and rendered it untenable. They now sallied forth, and in the fight with the besieging party which ensued, Catesby himself, Percy and three others were slain; Stephen Lyttelton and Robert Winter escaped, and the rest surrendered and were carried prisoners to London. The two ill-fated fugitives, after concealing themselves for some weeks in a barn, where they endured great extremity of famine and hardship, were conducted by Humphry Lyttelton, a cousin of Stephen's and a secret accomplice in the design, to Hagley-hall.

This celebrated seat, connected in the mind of the modern reader with so many elegant and pleasing recollections, had owned for its last possessor an unfortunate John Lyttelton, the elder brother of Humphry and a catholic, who, by the rigor of the law, had been pronounced guilty of high treason for some slight participation in the counsels of the earl

of

of Essex. A large bribe to Raleigh obtained for him a remission of the capital part of the sentence; but his estates were confiscated, and he died a prisoner. His widow, Muriel daughter of lord-chancellor Bromley, seems to have been a woman of sense and merit; she educated her children in the protestant faith, and by active solicitation had won from James a reversal of the attainder, with restitution of the family property. She therefore was at this time the mistress of Hagley, and bound by every consideration of prudence, of gratitude, and of religious principle, to the support of church and state. For a woman thus situated, a more agonizing dilemma could scarcely be conceived than the appearance at her gate of the friend and kinsman of her departed husband,—led astray by the same religious attachments by which he had been deluded,—reduced to the lowest stage of human wretchedness, and imploring her to conceal and protect him from the certain infliction of the same cruel and ignominious death which that husband had with so much difficulty and so much suffering escaped. But she was at this juncture absent; and Humphry Lyttelton unwarrantably took advantage of this circumstance to introduce beneath her roof these proscribed traitors, to whom it was treason to afford a shelter. They had little reason to rejoice in the step. A servant of the house, to whom the secret was unavoidably confided, hastened to betray it; and in a few hours they saw themselves in custody. Humphry Lyttelton also had incurred a capital penalty as an

accessory

accessory to their treason; but he is believed to have earned his pardon by the discovery of more important conspirators who were concealed at Hendlip by its owner.

Hendlip- or Hinlip-hall, one of the most remarkable houses now remaining in the kingdom, was built by John Habington father of Thomas and cofferer to queen Elizabeth. This person, being a catholic at heart and a zealous partisan of the title of the queen of Scots, had judged it advisable to furnish his mansion with places of concealment still more numerous and more craftily devised than was customary among persons of the same communion in that age of plots, penalties and domiciliary visits. "There is scarcely an apartment," writes a modern describer of Hendlip, "that has not secret ways of going in or going out; some have back staircases concealed in the walls; others have places of retreat in their chimnies; some have trap-doors; and all present a picture of gloom, insecurity and suspicion[a]."

After an education at Paris and Rheims, calculated to confirm him in all the principles of his father, Thomas Habington had entered into possession of his paternal seat, and soon after actively engaged in Babington's plot for the liberation of the queen of Scots; in consequence of which he underwent a six years' imprisonment in the Tower of London. But his zeal being rather invigorated than

[a] *Beauties of England*, vol. xv. part i. p. 184.

exhausted

exhausted by his sufferings in the catholic cause, he continued to hold constant intercourse with the jesuits, in whose school his principles had been formed, and entered with ardor into the powder-plot.

To Hendlip therefore, as to an assured asylum, two of the inferior agents in the conspiracy, and two of the jesuits, by whom the whole design had been instigated and secretly directed, repaired on the failure of their enterprise. But in consequence of the certain intelligence which government had at length received of their place of concealment, a party headed by sir Henry Bromley the sheriff was sent thither with orders to make a persevering and effectual search. Mr. Habington in vain denied with imprecations that he harboured such persons under his roof; the sheriff was resolute, "and proceeding on," says a contemporary manuscript, "according to the trust reposed in him, in the gallery over the gate there were found two cunning and artificial conveyances in the main brick wall, so ingeniously framed, and with such art, as it cost much labor ere they could be found. Three other secret places, contrived by no less skill and industry, were found in and about the chimnies, in one whereof two of the traitors were close concealed. These chimney-conveyances being so strangely formed, having the entrances into them so curiously covered with brick, mortared and made fast to planks of wood and colored black like the other part of the chimney, that very diligent inquisition might well have passed by without throwing the least suspicion on such unsuspicious

picious places. And whereas divers funnels are usually made to chimnies according as they are combined together, and serve for necessary use in several rooms, so here were some that exceeded common expectation, seeming outwardly fit for carrying forth smoke; but being further examined and seen into, the service was to no such purpose; but only to lend light and air downward into the concealments, where such as should be inclosed in them at any time should be hidden. Eleven secret corners and conveyances were found in the said house, all of them having books, massing stuff and popish trumpery in them, only two excepted, which appeared to have been found in former searches, and therefore had now the less credit given to them.....

"Three days had been fully spent, and no man found there all this while; but upon the fourth day in the morning, from behind the wainscot in the galleries, came forth two men of their own voluntary accord, as being no longer able there to conceal themselves; for they confessed that they had but one apple between them, which was all the sustenance they had received during the time they were thus hidden. One of them was named Owen, who afterwards murdered himself in the Tower, and the other Chambers.....On the eighth day, the before mentioned place in the chimney was found; forth of this secret and most-cunning conveyance came Henry Garnet, the jesuit sought for, and another with him named Hall; marmalade and other sweetmeats were found there lying by them; but their better

better maintenance had been by a quill or reed, through a little hole in the chimney that backed another chimney into a gentlewoman's chamber; and by that passage cawdle, broths and warm drinks, had been conveyed to them[a].'

Amongst the conspirators made prisoners at Holbeach, and conveyed thence to the Tower, was sir Everard Digby of Dry-stoke in Rutlandshire, whose history is memorable as an exemplification of the maxims then instilled by a certain class of jesuits into their disciples, and of the manner in which they struggled in an ingenuous mind with a dawning perception of the genuine principles of moral rectitude.

This gentleman,—to whom the epithet unfortunate is peculiarly appropriate, since his crimes were in the strictest sense his errors,—was born in the year 1581 of a very ancient and honorable family. His father was a man of learning and capacity, the author of several philosophical and other works, from whom his son was likely to have received a sound and prudent education; but his early death left young Everard, at the age of eleven, to the uncontrolled direction of certain catholic priests, who made it their chief business to work, as it were, into the very texture of the mind of their docile pupil these two principles;—the truth, the sacredness, the paramount importance, of the catholic faith; and the merit, or rather the indispensable duty, of an implicit

[a] *Beauties of England*, vol. xv. part i. p. 187. From a MS. in the British Museum.

obedience

obedience to ecclesiastical authority. Beneath this heavy yoke of mental servitude, Digby grew up a spirited and accomplished gentleman; his person was of distinguished beauty; he excelled in all the exercises becoming his rank; he appeared with honor at the court of Elizabeth, and received knighthood at the hand of James; by whom this dignity was bestowed without distinction of religion.

These advantages, aided by the good offices of the priests, with whom he was most deservedly a favorite, early obtained for him the hand of the heiress of the family of Mulsho of Gothurst in Bucks, which henceforth became his principal seat. He was already the father of two sons, one of them the afterwards celebrated sir Kenelm Digby; and blessed with affluence and peace, and the dearest ties of domestic life, his enviable lot seemed almost beyond the power of adverse fortune. But the fatal bias given to his mind by a fanatical education was invincible; it received fresh force from the intimacy which he contracted,—probably through the introduction of his ghostly directors,—first with Tresham and afterwards with Catesby, and it fatally ended by involving him in the atrocity of the powder-plot. Such was his ardor in this design, that he offered a contribution of 1500*l.* towards the expenses; received Guy Fawkes into his own house whilst the crisis was deferred by the prorogation of parliament, and ended by assembling the friends of the cause at Dunchurch.

Great pains were taken by the privy-council, in conformity

conformity with the directions of the king and the practice of the age, to extort from the prisoners acknowledgements of their own guilt and indications respecting that of others; and many even of the principal gentlemen concerned, in fear probably of the rack, which was actually applied to Guy Fawkes, became as open in their confessions as could possibly be desired. Digby alone persisted, with the firmness of a religious martyr, in protestations of his ignorance of the intended explosion, and of the participation of any other persons in the conspiracy than such as were already dead, or taken, like himself, in open rebellion. The falsehood of these solemn protestations had nothing in it capable of shocking the conscience of a disciple so well-grounded in the jesuitical doctrine of equivocation. True to his principles, he avoided with the utmost caution any admission which might tend, even remotely, to criminate a priest; and being asked whether he had not like others received the sacrament upon the plot, he denied it; because, as he afterwards informed his wife in a letter, he "would avoid the question, at whose hands he received it." In this steady and consistent part he persisted to the end; but the notes written to his lady during his imprisonment, with juice of lemon, and on loose slips of paper, which have fortunately come down to posterity, exhibit a truly affecting picture of his doubts and inward struggles. The following are among the most remarkable passages:...." Now, for my intentions, let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been

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the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world, and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's religion. For my keeping it secret, it was caused by certain belief that those which were best able to judge of the lawfulness of it, had been acquainted with it and given way unto it. More reasons I had to persuade me to this belief than I dare utter, which I will never to the suspicion of any, though I should to the rack for it; and as I did not know it directly that it was approved by such, so did I hold it in my conscience the best not to know any more if I might.

"I have before all the lords cleared all the priests in it, for any thing that I know; but now let me tell you what a grief it hath been to me, to hear that so much condemned, which I did believe would have been otherwise thought on by catholics; there is no other cause but this which hath made me desire life, for when I came into prison death would have been a welcome friend unto me, and was most desired; but when I heard how catholics and priests thought of the matter, and that it should be a great sin that should be the cause of my end, it called my conscience in doubt of my very best actions and intentions in question; for I knew that myself might easily be deceived in such a business, therefore I protest unto you, that the doubts I had of my own good state, which only proceeded from the censure of others, caused more bitterness of grief in me than all the miseries that ever I suffered, and only this caused

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me to wish life, till I might meet with a ghostly friend. For some good space I could do nothing, but with tears ask pardon at God's hands for all my errors, both in actions and intentions, in this business and in my whole life; which the censure of this, contrary to my expectance, caused me to doubt.... But if that I may live to make satisfaction to God and the world, where I have given any scandal, I shall not grieve if I should never look living creature in the face again, and besides that deprivation endure all worldly misery."

Thus wretched is the state of him who, having given over his conscience to the guidance of others, is blown about by every changing wind of doctrine!

In a subsequent letter, Digby states more explicitly his grounds of belief received from Garnet, whom he calls by the assumed name of Farmer, that the pope approved the enterprise generally, though without knowing the particulars. He also says, that he dares not take the course which he might do for rendering their enterprise less odious, by making it appear who were to have been brought out of danger; since that would now rather hurt them;—but such measures had been taken, that he does not believe that three worth saving would have been lost[a].

This

[a] The curious papers whence the preceding extracts are taken, were long preserved as relics in the Digby family; and having been found in the year 1675 in the house of Charles Cornwallis, esq.

This victim of priestcraft died deeply penitent and rightly sensible of the enormous crime to which he had been seduced to lend his concurrence. He begged pardon of the king, the royal family, the parliament; and declared that "had he at first known it to be so foul a treason, he would not have concealed it to gain a world;" and he called on all present to bear witness to his repentance. His youth, his personal graces, the constancy which he had exhibited whilst he believed himself a martyr in a good cause, the deep sorrow which he testified on becoming sensible of his error, seem to have moved all hearts with pity and even admiration; and if so detestable a villany as the powder-plot may be permitted to have had its hero, Everard Digby was undoubtedly the man.

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esq. executor to sir Kenelm Digby, they were printed in 1678 by Mr. Secretary Coventry in *Proceedings, &c. relative to the popish plot.* See also *Biog. Brit.*, article E. Digby.

CHAPTER IX.

1606 AND 7.

King's speech on the powder-plot.—Parliament prorogued.—King's pamphlet on the powder-plot.—Conduct of Spain respecting it.—Trials of several conspirators.—Speech of Coke.—Trial of Digby,—of father Garnet.—Garnet's straws.—Use of torture against the conspirators.—Catholic miracle.—Behaviour of the king of Spain.—Lord Monteagle rewarded.—Star-chamber sentence against lords Mordaunt and Stourton.—Case of the earl of Northumberland.—Parliamentary measures against catholics.—Popularity of Salisbury.—Letter of sir H. Nevil.—Visit of the king of Denmark.—Letter of sir J. Harrington,—of the countess of Nottingham.—King's speech in favor of a union with Scotland.—Causes of the rejection of this measure.—James's conversation with Harrington.

THE conduct of James with respect to the discovery of the powder-plot was strongly marked with his peculiar character, and, like most other important passages of his life, has undergone great variety of interpretation. The parliament being prorogued for four days longer, was then opened by the king with a speech intended to guide the judgement of the house on this momentous subject. After some preliminary trifling respecting three different modes in which men may be put to death; by other men; by wild beasts; and by insensible things; of all which, it seems, the last is the most cruel and unmerciful;

merciful; he proceeds to descant on the particular providences of the case in hand; beginning with his own miraculous mode of interpreting some dark phrases in lord Monteagle's letter, "contrary to the ordinary grammar construction of them, and in another sort than I am sure any divine, or lawyer, in any university, would have taken them;"—whence the search and discovery. "One thing for mine own part," he is pleased to say, "have I cause to thank God in; that if God for our sins had suffered their wicked intents to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken nor written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an ale-house ....or such vile place, but mine end should have been with the most honorable and best company, and in that most honorable and fittest place for a king to be in, for doing the turns most proper to his office." A singular topic of thanksgiving surely for a monarch!

With regard to the essential point, what was to be done on the occasion, he praises the earnestness and diligence of his loving subjects of all degrees in this matter; but adds, "It may very well be possible that the zeal of your hearts shall make some of you in your speeches rashly to blame such as may be innocent of this attempt; but upon the other part, I wish you to consider, that I would be sorry that any being innocent of this practice, either domestical or foreign, should receive blame or harm for the same. For although it cannot be denied, that it was the only blind superstition of their errors in religion

religion that led them to this desperate device, yet it doth not follow that all professing the Romish religion were guilty of the same. For, as it is true that no other sect of heretics, not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan, no, not even those of Calicut, who adore the devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful, or rather meritorious (as the Romish catholics call it), to murder princes or people for quarrel of religion; .... Yet it is true on the other side, that many honest men, blinded peradventure with some opinions of popery, as, if they be not sound in the questions of the real presence or in the number of the sacraments, or some such school question; yet do they either not know, or at least not believe, all the true grounds of popery, which is indeed 'the mystery of iniquity.' And therefore do we justly confess, that many papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ and his merits at their last breath, may be, and oftentimes are saved; detesting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any papist. I therefore thus do conclude this point; that as, upon the one part, many honest men, seduced with some errors of popery, may yet remain good and faithful subjects, so, upon the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and school conclusions of their doctrine, can either prove good christians or faithful subjects." With respect to foreign princes, he entirely acquits them of all knowledge and consent in the matter, judging, he says,

says, by himself, that no christian king could ever "think a good thought of so base and dishonorable a treachery;" and he therefore requires that the parliament "will reverently think and judge of them in this case[a]."

Having thus instructed the two houses in what manner he desired that this affair should be considered and treated, James prorogued the parliament to the 21st of January; obviously for the purpose of evading the zealous interference of the house of commons. The trials of the conspirators were also deferred for several weeks, during which time each prisoner was subjected to long and repeated examinations by different members of the privy-council, and strenuously urged to make full confession of his offence. The delay rather exasperated than appeased the public indignation; and as the utility of this mode of proceeding was not very apparent, men were naturally induced to suspect some mystery in the affair, which every one interpreted according to his own views or prejudices. Some did not hesitate to affirm that the whole plot, like that of Raleigh, was a state trick to circumvent some obnoxious persons; and to this opinion the catholics in general, and especially the jesuits, for obvious reasons, gave all the currency in their power: many believed that at least the letter to lord Monteagle was a fabrication of the government, and that Salisbury had received his real intelligence of the

[a] *King James's Works*, pp. 501 et seq.

magazine

magazine of gunpowder from sources which he did not think proper to disclose. The puritans, incensed at the strange and strangely timed declaration of the king respecting their uncharitable tenets, inveighed with violence against his popish predilections, and suspected they knew not what impending mischiefs.

The "Discourse on the powder-plot," published at this juncture anonymously, but afterwards inserted among king James's works, further illustrates the views and sentiments of the monarch. The narrative which it gives of the plot and discovery, though couched in terms of horror and detestation against the fact, is remarkably free from all invective against the contrivers; and it contains not a single reference to the ferocious spirit of Roman-catholic bigotry in general, and the multiplied atrocities of which, since the reformation, it had been the fertile parent:—common places of all the protestant writers of that age. The confessions of Thomas Winter and Guy Fawkes appended to this piece, are bare narratives of their own concern in the enterprise, which throw no light whatever on the more obscure and distant ramifications of the plot. But it is worthy of note, that care has been taken to insert in Winter's relation an opinion said to have been expressed by sir William Stanley, that the archduke would not second any enterprise of the English catholics, on account of the general anxiety in Flanders for peace with England, and the negotiations already opened. An explicit de-

claration also occurs, that the conspirators had not judged it prudent to communicate their design to any foreign sovereign. So anxious was James that no breath of suspicion should sully the honor, faith and friendship of his most catholic ally! Yet sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter to the earl of Salisbury dated from Valladolid in October 1605, after adverting to the busy zeal of Spain for the spread of the Romish faith in England, had given the following very remarkable advertisement: "Some great matter, without question, this state hath instantly in hand; the councils of late have very extraordinarily sat, and many juntoes out of common form. A general stay they have likewise made of justice to all or any of the king my master's subjects. And this very night I am secretly advertised from a councillor of state, to whom I am exceedingly beholden, that he and others are commanded to hold me in daily hope and expectancy, but that the intention is to have the causes better discerned into before they pass; and now, for confirmation of my belief, he sent me the letters he received to that purpose. *I am of opinion that they have some great mountain of hope lately fallen upon them, under which, for the time, they sleep*[a]."

On the failure of the blow, however, the king of Spain judged that nothing better remained to be done than to cultivate the pacific and amicable dispositions of James; and, besides heaping the most

[a] Winwood.

ostentatious

ostentatious courtesies on sir Charles Cornwallis, he dispatched an ambassador extraordinary to London, laden with rich presents for the king and queen, and charged with messages of congratulation on their signal deliverance. When cardinal Perron, the French ambassador at Rome, mentioned these circumstances to the pope, this pontiff strongly reprobated the dissimulation of Philip III.

At length, late in the month of January 1606, eight of the most guilty of the surviving conspirators were brought to their trial in Westminster-hall. Coke, as attorney-general, stated the case against them with better manners and less of personal insult than he had been accustomed to employ towards persons in their unfortunate situation:—for no other reason, perhaps, than that he was disposed to view this conspiracy as the act not of individuals, but of a body, and came prepared rather to send forth a manifesto against the church of Rome, than to prosecute a judicial charge against a small number of atrocious fanatics.

After a formal protestation "for the clearing of foreign princes from all imputation or aspersion whatsoever," he proceeded to trace as it were the pedigree of this enormous villany down through the whole series of plots of Romish or Spanish origin by which it had been preceded. He exposed the pernicious maxims of the jesuits respecting the deposition or assassination of heretical or excommunicated princes, and their detestable ones concerning equivocation and breach of faith with protestants:

protestants: and he exhibited this order as the original instigators and promoters of the meditated treason.

By this mode of treating the subject, so opposite to that adopted by the king in his speech to parliament, the spirit of hatred and revenge, which the horrible nature of the plot had called forth, was deliberately exasperated, and directed against all, without discrimination, who owned the name of catholics; and the public voice was encouraged to demand an extension of those persecuting laws by which even the most innocent and loyal members of this communion had been already stripped of so many of the dearest rights of citizens and of men.

The style of this great lawyer affords a remarkable instance of the prevalent corruption of taste in the reign of James I.; and the weight of his proofs and arguments is strangely contrasted with such quaintnesses and puerilities as the following: "S.P.Q.R. was sometimes taken for these words, *Senatus populusque Romanus;* but now they may be expressed thus, *Stultus populus quærit Romam,* a foolish people that runneth to Rome." "Note, that gunpowder was the invention of a friar, one of that Romish rabble, as printing was of a soldier." "It was in the entering of the sun into the tropic of Capricorn when they began their mine; noting that by mining they should descend, and by hanging ascend." Another passage occurs worthy to be marked with the strongest note of reprobation. "The conclusion shall be from the admirable clemency and mercy of the

the king, in that howsoever these traitors have exceeded all other their predecessors in mischief, and so, *crescente malitia, crescere debuit et pœna*, yet neither will the king exceed the usual punishment of law, nor invent any new torture or torment for them; but is graciously pleased to afford them as well an ordinary course of trial, as an ordinary punishment, much inferior to their offence[a]." And this was the idea of the power and prerogative of a king of England which the greatest lawyer of his age dared to send forth under the sanction of his authority!

Few or no witnesses were called into court; but after the attorney-general had concluded his speech, the examinations of the prisoners, in which they had confessed their guilt, were shown to them, and each man acknowledged his own. For the more complete satisfaction of the public, the examinations were then read aloud; after which the jury delivered their verdict of Guilty upon all.

The prisoners being severally asked what they had to say in arrest of judgement, Thomas Winter only begged that his punishment might serve for his brother as well as himself. Guy Fawkes had no plea. Keyes said "that his estates and fortunes were desperate, and as good now as another time, and for this cause rather than for another." Bates and Robert Winter craved mercy. Grant, who had been principally active in the insurrection, after a consi-

[a] See *Proceedings against the late traitors;* (unpaged pamph.)

derable

derable pause, said submissively, "that he was guilty of a conspiracy intended but never effected." Ambrose Rookwood, in a bolder strain, first excused his having pleaded Not guilty, because he would rather lose his life than give it: He then said, that great as was his offence, he did not despair of mercy; the rather, "in that he had been neither author nor actor, but only persuaded and drawn in by Catesby, whom he loved above any worldly man: and that he had concealed it, not for any malice to the person of the king, or to the state, or for any ambitious respect of his own, but only drawn in with the tender respect and the faithful and dear affection he bare to Mr. Catesby his friend, whom he esteemed more dearer than any thing else in the world[a]."

The full sentence of the law was inflicted on all the prisoners.

Sir Everard Digby was put to the bar separately, after the conviction of the other seven. He pleaded Guilty; but afterwards "fell into a speech," in which he stated that "the first motive which drew him into this action was not ambition or discontentment of his estate, neither malice to any in parliament, but the friendship he bare to Catesby, which prevailed so much, and was so powerful with him, as that for his sake he was ever contented and ready to hazard himself and his estate. The next motive was the cause of religion, which alone, seeing

[a] *Proceedings*, &c.

(as

(as he said) it lay at the stake, he entered into resolution to neglect in that behalf his estate, his life, his name, his memory, his posterity, and all worldly and earthly felicity whatsoever, though he did utterly extirpate and extinguish all other hopes, for the restoring of the catholic religion in England. His third motive was, that promises were broken with the catholics. And lastly, that they generally feared harder laws from this parliament against recusants, as, that recusants wives, and women, should be liable to the mulct as well as their husbands, and men. And further, that it was supposed, that it should be made a *præmunire* only to be a catholic[a]." He ended by requesting that his family might not suffer by his fault, through confiscation of his lands and goods, and that his own sentence might be commuted for beheading. Neither of these requests was accorded, but his estate had been so settled that it could not be forfeited. The attorney-general, the earl of Northampton and lord Salisbury made replies to Digby's speech, and refuted it as to different points. It seems that the prisoner had throughout denied his privity to the plot of explosion; but Salisbury remarked, that this denial was manifestly false, by the testimony of Fawkes, then present at the bar, who had declared that during the time of his stay at Digby's house, much wet having fallen, Digby took him aside and said, that he feared their powder might have grown damp, and some fresh must

[a] *Proceedings*, &c.

be

be provided[a]. It may be added that his own letters now place beyond a doubt his acquaintance with this worst part of the conspiracy. Tresham, who died of disease in the Tower before he could be brought to trial, retracted in the last hours of his life, all the evidence which on his first apprehension he had given against Garnet; protesting upon his salvation that he had not seen him of sixteen years. This statement was afterwards disproved by many witnesses, including Garnet himself; and this jesuit being asked upon his trial what he thought of the perjury of Tresham, coolly answered that he thought he meant to equivocate.

The trial of father Garnet did not take place till about two months afterwards. It was regarded by the government as an object of great importance to convict him; partly on account of the odium which would redound to the whole order of jesuits in England from the condemnation of their principal, and partly because he was an old offender in the treasons of Elizabeth's time, for which he had sued out his pardon on the accession of James. No pains therefore were spared, and no means were scrupled, to render the evidence complete. The confessions of the other conspirators had gone far to criminate him as an accessory before the fact, or at least a concealer of the plot; but this testimony was not legally sufficient for his conviction. On this account he was subjected to repeated examinations by privy-

[a] *Proceedings*, &c.

councillors,

councillors, and all gentle methods were used to induce him to confess; but in vain, his skill and his constancy brought him in safety through every trial. At length recourse was had to artifice. The keeper of the Tower by way of a favor offered Garnet the opportunity of conversing with Oldcorn or Hall, also a jesuit and a prisoner for the same offence. Garnet, less wary than might have been expected, embraced the treacherous proposal; two persons stationed for the purpose listened to their conference, and heard him avow his knowlege of the whole design, adding, however, that there was but one person in the world who could prove his guilt, and the name of this person escaped the listeners. This not very satisfactory corroboration having been obtained, Garnet was brought to the bar. The jesuit, certainly a man of ability, and apparently more of a Machiavelian politician than a bigot or enthusiast, conducted his defence with courage, moderation and presence of mind; and he availed himself of all the nice distinctions, crafty turns and dexterous evasions, of which his education, state and calling had taught him the habitual and skilful use. That he was in part at least acquainted with the meditated treason, he did not now venture, in the face of all the testimonies which had been adduced, to deny; but he sought to rest his justification on the plea of his having come to this knowledge solely through the medium of confession, which a catholic priest is forbidden under pain of perdition to reveal. It is obvious that such a defence could not be legally admissible

missible in any protestant court of justice; but the crown lawyers contented themselves with showing that it was false in fact. Garnet had clearly been consulted out of confession; he had given letters of recommendation, and lent assistance in various cautious but efficacious methods to the conspirators; had sent a gentleman to apprize the pope of the plot, as of a thing which he could not but approve; and had absolved, encouraged, and relieved from scruples those engaged in it. On the whole he seems to have deserved condign punishment more, and not less, than any of the lay fanatics whose passions he had excited whilst he lulled their consciences; and the jury without hesitation brought him in Guilty.

Nothing is more striking in Garnet's case, than the studious publicity given to the whole proceedings, and the apparent solicitude of the great officers of the crown to avoid affording to the catholic party either just ground of complaint or occasions of calumny. Lord Salisbury claimed of Garnet, in open court, an acknowledgement of the perfect humanity, care and courtesy with which he had been treated during his imprisonment; and stated that nothing had been drawn from him by "racking or any such bitter torments," "a matter ordinary," he said, in other kingdoms, "though now forborne here." On the same occasion he exposed the falsehood of a report that Bates had retracted the evidence which he had formerly given against Greenway, or Tesmond, the jesuit; and he defended the animadversions on the perjury of Tresham which had been published

published since his death, on account of the absolute necessity of avoiding "their slanderous reports and practices." But no precaution can elude or restrain the operation of party spirit; the innocence of Garnet became the favorite dogma of his faction, and the shameful termination of his treasons against his sovereign and his native land was celebrated as a martyrdom. A crowd of catholics of both sexes rushed to the foot of the scaffold, caught his last words and looks with veneration, and feigned or fancied that his sacred character was stamped by a miracle. The perfect impression of his face, crowned with the halo of saintship, was affirmed to be visible on the straws used to dry up his blood on the scaffold, and they were long preserved as holy relics. Osborn says that he had held one of them in his hand; and the prodigy is frequently alluded to, with reverence or scorn, by the catholic or protestant champions of the age.

Notwithstanding the general disclaimer of the use of torture by the minister, catholic writers affirm that Oldcorn the jesuit was "five several times racked in the Tower, and once with the utmost severity for several hours[a]." It is expressly stated in the account published by authority that Guy Fawkes came to his trial weakened by the effects of the rack; and Owen the servant of Garnet, who died in prison, by his own hand according to the protestant accounts, is said by the catholics, with at least

[a] Butler's *Memoirs of English catholics*, ii. 260.

equal

equal probability, to have expired under the torture. Even the words of Salisbury, taken with the context, may be thought to assert no more than that the principal actors in the conspiracy were not subjected to this infliction; and he excuses the artifice which had been employed for the detection of Garnet by saying, that if the truth could not thus have been elicited, it must have been forced from him by torture: a practice which the government was unwilling to resort to, evidently not from any scruples of its own, but on account of what was called the clamor raised by the catholics, and the calumnies which they founded upon its employment.

It should be remembered that this atrocious practice, of which it was accounted factious in the catholics to complain, was at all periods unwarranted by the law of England; and that Elizabeth herself, by whom, to her eternal reproach, it had been more frequently used than by any of her predecessors, or perhaps all of them put together, had been compelled by public indignation to renounce it. Yet, in the temper of the nation after the detection of the powder-plot, there can be no doubt that it might with perfect safety have been avowedly recurred to against all the conspirators; and it is probable that the king deserves the credit of whatever forbearance was in reality exercised.

The jesuit Oldcorn, otherwise Hall, who was domesticated at Hendlip, and who had said to Humphry Lyttelton that the failure of the plot did not render the attempt less just, was tried, convicted, and

and suffered the penalty of treason at Worcester. "His head and quarters," says a catholic writer, "were set up on poles in different parts of that city; his heart and bowels were cast into the fire, which continued sending forth a lively flame for sixteen days, notwithstanding the rains that fell during that time; which was looked upon as a prodigy, and as a testimony of his innocence[a]."

Several other persons were put to death in Warwickshire and the adjacent counties, either for their personal concern in the insurrection, or for the harbouring of proclaimed traitors. One offender, who had sought refuge in France, was given up with alacrity by Henry IV.; but two others, Baldwyne and Owen, who were exiles or residents in Flanders, though demanded by James, on full proof, as it is said, of their acquaintance with the powder-plot, were withheld by the archduke. He pleaded, that over the first, being a jesuit, he had no jurisdiction, and that he could not give up the other without the consent of the king of Spain, whose particular servant he was. His most catholic majesty likewise, in spite of all the remonstrances and reclamations of the English ministry, persisted in affording to these men a zealous kind of protection, which excited the foulest suspicions in the mind of Salisbury, without disturbing for a moment, as it should seem, the blind and obstinate confidence of James in the friendship of his high ally.

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[a] Chaloner's *Memoirs of missionary priests*, vol. ii. p. 488.

Lord

Lord Monteagle was rewarded for his communication of the important letter by a grant of crown land and a pension; and at his intercession, the life of his brother-in-law, Thomas Habington, was spared, on condition of his confining himself for life within the county of Worcester. Habington was a man of literary habits, acquired chiefly during his former long imprisonment, and he calmly occupied the remaining forty years of his life in making collections for the history of his county, which were afterwards arranged and employed by Dr. Nash. Habington the poet, author of an elegant series of love-sonnets, entitled Castara, was his son.

Two catholic peers, the lords Mordaunt and Stourton, were condemned in the star-chamber to fines, the first of 10,000, the second of 6,000 marks, on a *suspicion* of participation in the plot, founded on their absence from parliament. To be bound by none of the rules of legal evidence, and to punish at discretion, were the peculiar privileges of this "den of arbitrary justice," as it is emphatically called by Osborn. A more severe infliction was in store for the earl of Northumberland: the relationship in which this nobleman stood to Percy the conspirator, who was also agent for his estates in the north, caused his arrest two days after the discovery. It was proved that Thomas Percy had called on the earl at Sion, in his way to London, a few days before; and the probability that he might then have given some intimation to his friend and patron to induce him to absent himself from parliament, appeared

peared so strong, that Northumberland's commitment to private custody till the matter could be investigated, can scarcely be deemed an act of rigor. But he was soon after transferred to the Tower; and when no evidence appeared to convict him of any knowledge of the plot, he was proceeded against in the star-chamber on an accusation of which the following were the principal articles:—That he had endeavoured to be the head of the papists, and to procure them toleration;—an indefinite charge which might imply nothing improper:—that he, being captain of the gentlemen-pensioners, had admitted Percy into the band without administering the oath of supremacy, knowing him to be a popish recusant;—a violation of the law, it is true, but one which the king himself must apparently have connived at, since no one could be better acquainted with the religious principles of Percy. Other counts charged it upon him, that he, being a privy-councillor and so bound to watch over the safety of the state, had written letters to his servants and friends in the north, directing them to keep his revenues out of the hands of his agent Percy, whom he then imagined to have fled into those parts, without at the same time giving directions for the apprehension of this proclaimed traitor. For these offences, or rather perhaps on these pretexts, the unfortunate earl was adjudged to pay a fine to the king of 30,000*l.*; to be deprived of the offices of captain of the pensioners, of privy-councillor, of lord-lieutenant of a county, and of any others which he might hold; he was declared inca-

pable of all offices for the future, and further sentenced to imprisonment in the Tower for life.

Several petitions of this nobleman have been preserved, earnestly praying for some mitigation of a doom scarcely less terrible than death itself: but it was long before he could obtain any abatement of his exorbitant fine, because, as the petitioner was informed, the sum was wanted for the payment of the queen's debts; and it was not till the end of sixteen years that the intercession of a favorite, who had married one of his daughters, wrung from James an order for his liberation. The true cause of this inflexibility on the part of the king is still a mystery. It is well known that this earl was extremely obnoxious to Salisbury; but it appears improbable that any effects of this minister's hostility should have survived himself so many years.

On the reassembling of parliament, the house of commons passed with great eagerness a number of additional acts for the suppression or punishment of popery. By these statutes heavy penalties were denounced on absence from the established worship, on catholic baptisms, marriages and burials, and on sending children abroad for education. Recusants were declared incapable of holding any offices, judicial, civil, military or naval, or of practising law or physic; they were forbidden to come to the court, or to remain in London, unless they exercised some regular calling there, or to travel five miles from home without a license; and they were declared to be, in all respects, as excommunicated persons. The oath

oath of allegiance might at any time be administered to convicted recusants and to strangers; to refuse it incurred a *præmunire*; and it was made high treason to be reconciled, or to reconcile others, to the church of Rome, and to absolve from allegiance. Recusants were also to deliver up their arms and gunpowder, and to keep none in future; and authority was granted to magistrates to search private houses for catholic books, relics and implements of worship, and to carry away, burn and deface them: a power productive, as may readily be imagined, of innumerable acts of violence, rapacity and insult. The fifth of November was likewise appointed to be observed *for ever* as a day of solemn thanksgiving[a].

The puritans, delighted to gratify their religious antipathies on the plea of political precaution, exerted themselves with peculiar activity in fixing this heavy yoke on the necks of the unfortunate catholics. The king, on the contrary, anxious to conciliate resentments which had so lately threatened his life, manifested in various ways his disapprobation of enactments of such undistinguishing severity, but without venturing to refuse them his assent. The courtiers eulogized his moderation and styled it magnanimity; whilst the popular party arraigned his timorous, temporizing policy; and Salisbury, true to the maxims which had long taught the Roman catholic party to tremble at the name of Cecil, unrelentingly pursued its destruction, in defiance of

[a] *Statutes at large*, 3 Jac. I. c. 5.

the wishes, the fears, or the scruples, of a master to whom he felt himself necessary, and whom he probably despised. In a letter addressed to Winwood, the minister commends this session of parliament for the religious zeal of both houses, and the good laws made "against popery and those firebrands jesuits and priests, that seek to bring all things into confusion." He then mentions with triumph the king's resolution once more to banish them all, and to execute the law without more forbearance upon the refractory. But in this resolution James soon slackened, if indeed he was ever sincere in professing it; and it may safely be affirmed, that the only thing entirely agreeable to him in the acts of this session of parliament was a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths, which the loyalty of the two houses, enlivened by a false report of the king's assassination, which diffused a violent panic during several hours, induced them to grant to his necessities. The exertions of Salisbury in the detection of the plot were rewarded by the order of the garter.

A letter from sir Henry Nevil, a popular member of parliament, to Winwood, throws much light on the state of things at this juncture.

"My lord (Salisbury) hath gotten much love and honor this parliament by his constant dealing in matters of religion; some fruit of it was seen in his attendance to the installation, being such as, I dare avow, never subject had in any memory. I hope it will confirm and strengthen him in his good proceedings.

"For

"For my own business, I am at a stand if I go not backward. This parliament hath done me no good, where not only speeches and actions, but countenances, and conversations with men disliked, hath been observed. But in these points I cannot betray my own mind, speed as it will. Our laws against recusants have been very sharp, insomuch as we are devising already how we may qualify them in the execution. But the mischief is, that some of them stand upon incapacities, which are immediately inflicted by the law itself, and cannot be dispensed; which troubles us much."

In the same letter, the following notices likewise occur:—"Upon Sunday last there were divers merchants and merchants' wives at the court, and made grievous complaints unto the king, the one of their servants, the other of their husbands, imprisoned and put to the gallies in Spain, and of much injustice and oppression done there to our nation, besides some particular contumely to the king personally; the like complaint was made before the lords. I hear it hath moved much, and this I will assure you, that the kingdom generally wishes this peace broken; but *Jacobus Pacificus* I believe will scarce incline to that side. We are in daily expectation of the king of Denmark's arrival and the queen's delivery, charges that we have little need of.

"I suppose you hear that my lord Erskine and sir John Ramsay are made viscounts, and the latter hath a 1000*l.* land given him to support the title;

so

so the king's land, inclosed to all other, is only open to them; yet there is an expectation of some promotions at the christening of the queen's child[a]."

The king of Denmark made his threatened visit in July 1606; he remained in England a month, during which time, according to Wilson, "the court, city, and some parts of the country, with banquetings, masks, dancings, tilting, barriers and other gallantry (besides the manly sports of wrestling, and the brutish sports of baiting with beasts), swelled to such a greatness, as if there were an intention in every particular man this way to have blown up himself[b]."

But these inordinate expenses were not, apparently, the greatest evil attendant on this royal visit. Christian IV. was not less addicted to deep carouses than his illustrious predecessor the uncle of prince Hamlet; and the effects of his gracious example in this point may be learned by the following description, from the lively pen of sir John Harrington, of an entertainment given him at Theobalds by the earl of Salisbury, for which Ben Jonson was employed, very superfluously, to compose erudite inscriptions in Latin.

"In compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish king came, and from the day he did come until this hour, I have been

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[a] Winwood, ii. 226.

[b] Wilson's *History of Great Britain*, p. 33.

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well-nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort as had well-nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as would have astonished each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles; for those whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the parliament did kindly to provide his majesty so seasonably with money, for there hath been no lack of good living; shows, sights and banquetings from morn to eve.

"One day a great feast was held, and after dinner, the representation of Solomon his temple and the coming of the queen of Sheba was made, or, I may better say, was meant to have been made before their majesties, by device of the earl of Salisbury and others.—But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment hereof. The lady who did play the queen's part, did carry most precious gifts to both their majesties, but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His

majesty

majesty then got up, and would dance with the queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear in rich dress, Faith, Hope and Charity: Hope did essay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the king would excuse her brevity: Faith was then alone, for I am certain she was not joined with good works, and left the court in a staggering condition: Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she made obeisance and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which heaven had not already given his majesty. She then returned to Faith and Hope, who were both sick .... in the lower hall. Next came Victory in bright armour, and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the king. But Victory did not triumph long; for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the antichamber. Now Peace did make entry, and strive to get foremost to the king; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those

those of her attendants; and much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

"I have much marvelled at these strange pageantries, and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our queen's days; of which I was sometimes an humble presenter and assistant: but I did ne'er see such lack of good order, discretion and sobriety, as I have now done.

"I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise or food. I will now in good sooth declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance.

"The great ladies go well masked, and indeed it be the only show of their modesty to conceal their countenance; but, alack, they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at ought that happens. The lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvellously please both kings with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say, but not aloud, that the Danes have again conquered the Britons; for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself.

self. I wish I was at home: '*O rus, quando te aspiciam?*'—And I will before prince Vaudemont cometh.

"I hear the uniting the kingdoms is now at hand; when the parliament is held, more will be done in this matter. Bacon is to manage all this affair, as who can better do these state jobs.....If you would wish to see how folly doth grow, come up quickly; otherwise stay where you are, and meditate on the future mischiefs of those our posterity, who shall learn the good lessons and examples held forth in these days[a]."

Of the behaviour of the king of Denmark during his visit to England, another disgraceful trait is placed on record by the following letter addressed by Margaret countess of Nottingham, a lady of the Stuart family, to the Danish ambassador; which is further interesting as a good specimen of the indignant style of a high-born woman of that day.

"Sir, I am very sorry this occasion should have been offered me by the king your master, which makes me troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to me by men of honor the great wrong the king of the Danes hath done me, when I was not by to answer for myself: for if I had been present, I would have letten him know how much I scorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not urge the particular of it, for the king himself knows it best. I protest to you, sir, I did think as

[a] *Nugæ*, i. 348.

honorably

honorably of the king your master as I did of my own prince; but I now persuade myself there is as much baseness in him as can be in any man: for although he be a prince by birth, it seems not to me that there harbours any princely thought in his breast; for, either in prince or subject, it is the basest that can be to wrong any woman of honor. I deserve as little that name he gave me, as either the mother of himself or of his children, and if ever I come to know what man hath informed your master so wrongfully of me, I shall do my best for putting him from doing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the tongue of any woman, I dare say she would be glad to have companions. So, leaving to trouble you any further, I rest, your friend,

"M. Nottingham[a]."

The prince Vaudemont mentioned in Harrington's letter as an expected visitor to the king, was one of his kinsmen of the house of Guise, and though but a younger son of the duke of Loraine, he appeared with considerable splendor at the English court. His retinue was equal in number to that of the king of Denmark; it included many gentlemen of distinction, and the civil and respectful behaviour of the whole train is particularly insisted upon by one of our chroniclers. The expense of his entertainment however appeared so formidable, that after some consultation it was at first agreed that the king should not defray him; but this resolution was

[a] *Cabala.*

after-

afterwards changed, and "a diet of 200 dishes was appointed to be served up daily during the time of his abode at court."

Parliament met again on November 18, 1606; and the union of the two kingdoms was, by the king's command, the first business brought before it. The proposal was as ill-received as before; disrespectful things were said of Scotland and Scotchmen, and various objections to the measure were stated with force and freedom. In this state of the business, the king, with his usual reliance on the effects of his own eloquence, took the somewhat irregular step of summoning the two houses to Whitehall, to hear from his own lips a labored pleading in behalf of this his favorite scheme. The tone and language of this harangue are much less intemperate than those of his former speech on the subject; and it has the merit of conveying a good deal of information respecting the Scotch law, which the king desired to bring to a more perfect conformity with that of England; but it abounds with sophisms, with puerilities, and even with indecorums, and, on the whole, can be accounted neither convincing nor persuasive. The following passage must surely have excited a smile:

"Some think that I will draw the Scotish nation hither, talking idly of transplanting trees out of a barren ground into a better, and of lean cattle out of a barren pasture into a fertile soil. Can any man displant you unless you will? Or can any man think that Scotland is so strong to pull you out of your houses?

houses? Or do you not think I know England hath more people, Scotland more waste ground? So that there is roomth in Scotland rather to plant your idle people that swarm in London streets, and other towns, and disburden you of them, than to bring more unto you[a]?"

It is not however to the rhetorical defects of the king that the final rejection of this measure ought to be imputed; it was a point in which the majority of the lower house had predetermined to disappoint the court; and Bacon himself had exhausted upon it in vain his unrivalled powers of reason and eloquence: in another mode, however, James might justly impute the failure to himself. Whatever might be the intrinsic advantages of the union, he had given his subjects too much cause to suspect that it was urged by him with such earnestness principally for the purpose of establishing over both countries that despotic authority which he imagined to belong of right to the office of a king. The new modelling of the English law, which he suggested to parliament as a preliminary to its adoption in Scotland, was from him a formidable proposal; and the violent steps which he had taken for the restoration of episcopacy in the Scotch church, by which it was gradually to be assimilated to that of England, had both alarmed and incensed the presbyterians of the two kingdoms, and rendered them irreconcileably hostile to the measure.

[a] *King James's Works*, p. 514.

Sir

Sir John Harrington, notwithstanding the disgust at the manners of the court expressed in his former letter, repeated his visit to it in the ensuing year, and to this circumstance we are indebted for the following lively delineation of some fresh traits in the motley character of James:

"It behoveth me now to recite my journal, respecting my gracious command of my sovereign prince to come to his closet. When I came to the presence chamber, and had gotten good place to see the lordly attendants, and bowed my knee to the prince, I was ordered by a special messenger, that is in secret sort, to wait awhile in an outward chamber, whence, in near an hour waiting, the same knave led me up a passage, and so to a small room, where was good order of paper, ink and pens, put on a board for the prince's use. Soon upon this, the prince his highness did enter, and in much good humor asked, If I was cousin to lord Harrington of Exton? I humbly replied, His majesty did me some honor in inquiring my kin to one whom he had so late honored and made a baron; and moreover did add, we were both branches of the same tree. Then he inquired much of learning, and showed me his own in such sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and uttered profound sentences of Aristotle and such like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand; but this I must pass by. The prince did now press my reading

reading to him part of a canto in Ariosto; praised my utterance, and said he had been informed of many as to my learning, in the time of the queen. He asked me, what I thought pure wit was made of; and whom it did best become? whether a king should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom? His majesty did much press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matter of witchcraft; and asked me, with much gravity, if I did truly understand, why the devil did work more with ancient women than others?.....His majesty, moreover, was pleased to say much, and favoredly, of my good report for mirth and good conceit; to which I did covertly answer: as not willing a subject should be wiser than his prince, nor even appear so.

"More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wanted room to continue, and sometimes room to escape; for the queen his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His highness told me, her death was visible in Scotland before it did really happen, being, as he said, spoken of in secret by those whose power of sight presented to them a bloody head dancing in the air. He then did remark much on this gift, and said he had sought out of certain books a sure way to attain knowledge of future chances. Hereat he named many books, which I did not know, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors, which would lead me to evil consultations. I told his majesty,

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the power of Satan had, I much feared, damaged my bodily frame; but I had not further will to court his friendship, for my soul's hurt. We next discoursed somewhat on religion, when at length he said; "Now, sir, you have seen my wisdom in some sort, and I have pried into yours. I pray you, do me justice in your report, and, in good season, I will not fail to add to your understanding in such points as I may find you lack amendment." I made curtsy hereat and withdrew down the passage and out at the gate, amidst the many varlets and lordly servants who stood around. . . . . I did forget to tell, that his majesty asked much concerning my opinion of the new weed, tobacco, and said, it would by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden[a]."

How clearly do we here recognise the monarch who had edified the world with the "*Demonologia*" and the "*Counterblast to Tobacco*;" and who had once declared that a king was to be "the great schoolmaster" of his country, the deity being the schoolmaster of kings, and the sharpest of all to those of them who did evil!

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[a] *Nugæ*, i. 366.

CHAPTER X.

1607 TO 1610.

Parliament prorogued for three years.—Death and character of Blount earl of Devon.—Flight of Tyrone.—Mask of Beauty.—Account of lady Anne Clifford.—Ramsay a favorite,—created viscount Haddington,—his marriage.—Jonson's mask on the occasion.—Account of the earl of Pembroke,—of the earl of Arundel.—Severities of the high-commission court.—Case of N. Fuller.—Puritans emigrate.—Death and character of Sackvil earl of Dorset.—Salisbury succeeds as treasurer.—Illegal taxation.—Peace between Spain and the Dutch.—Conduct of James as mediator.—Patriotic conduct of Salisbury.—Conduct of the court of Spain.—Extracts from Cornwallis's letters.—Marriage proposed between prince Henry and the infanta.—Controversy respecting the oath of allegiance.—King's apology for the oath,—how received at the courts of France,—of Spain,—at Venice.—Robert Carr becomes a favorite,—account of him.—Letter of lord T. Howard.—Cardinal Bentivoglio's description of England.

THE rejection of the union highly exasperated James against his parliament, which on its part was little better satisfied with him. The multiplicity of proclamations to which the king, by the aid of the large and somewhat indefinite powers of the council, and of the unconstitutional judicature of the star-chamber, labored to give the force of laws, strongly excited the jealousy of the house of commons; the

boundless expenses of the court, especially the sums lavished on favorites and Scotchmen, incensed all classes; and, fearful of a gathering storm, James in July 1607 announced a prorogation of parliament till the November of the same year; which was afterwards extended till February 1610. During this extraordinary recess, the state of the country affords scarcely any materials for history, but the interval is somewhat more productive for memoir.

Charles Blount, lord Montjoy and earl of Devonshire, died in 1606 at the age of forty-three. "Soon and early for his years," as a friend writes to Winwood, "but late enough for himself; and happy had he been had he gone two or three years since, before the world was weary of him, or that he had left that scandal behind him." The concluding remark evinces the strong sense at this time entertained of the infamy of an adulterous marriage. This blemish was the more to be regretted in the private character of Montjoy, because his public merits and services were considerable, and his accomplishments distinguished. He was handsome and graceful, skilful in his exercises, a fine courtier in the judgement of queen Elizabeth, and learned beyond almost any in his own station. The prudence and moderation with which he conducted himself when involved in the councils of Essex, perhaps saved England from the horrors of a civil war, and his vigor and conduct put an end to the most formidable rebellion which had ever afflicted Ireland.

The renewed turbulence of Tyrone after the death

death of the earl of Devonshire, seems to indicate that this event had freed him from the only opponent whom he dreaded. This celebrated rebel, after his favorable reception at the court of James, had been permitted to return to Ireland, where he now attempted to organize an insurrection, applying at the same time to Spain for aid. But being defeated in his design, he fled with several of his associates to the French coast, and, passing thence into Flanders, was very cordially received by James's good allies the archduke Albert and the infanta Isabella, in whose territory he remained several weeks, his friends and followers, and even the archduke himself, gratifying him with the titles of "the excellent prince," "the great O'Neal[a]." No sooner was Tyrone safe in this asylum, than he published a statement importing that the violences exercised against the catholic religion had compelled him thus to abandon his fortune and his country. James eagerly repelled the charge by a printed apology, in which he assumed the delicate task of showing that he was by no means to be regarded as the persecutor of that faith which his laws had rendered it so highly penal to profess;—laws, indeed, with which he was eager to dispense whenever he found it safely practicable.

In 1607 the king was pleased to exchange his manor of Hatfield for the earl of Salisbury's magnificent mansion of Theobalds, near Cheshunt, which

[a] *Illustrations*, iii. 333.

henceforth became his favorite summer palace. A splendid entertainment was given by the secretary to the king and court in honor of this transfer, and Jonson composed for the occasion an elegant interlude, in which the Genius of the place was introduced to present a golden key to the queen, on whom this residence appears to have been settled.

The same able and indefatigable pen produced for the Twelfth night festival of the following year, a counterpart to the mask of Blackness, called the mask of Beauty, in which parts were taken by the queen and by fifteen ladies of quality. Among these occurs the name of lady Anne Clifford, daughter of the celebrated George earl of Cumberland, one of the remarkable women of her age. She was at this time in the bloom of youth, and just entering upon the theatre of the world in the characters of an heiress, a beauty, and a patroness of letters. The death of her father when she was ten years of age, had consigned lady Anne to the guardianship of her excellent mother, a lady of the house of Russell; but she received her education chiefly under her aunt the countess of Warwick, principal lady of the bedchamber to queen Elizabeth, and the chief female favorite of her discerning mistress. No pains were spared in the cultivation of her mind; that worthy man and correct writer Samuel Daniel was her tutor, and from him she acquired a fondness for his own pursuits of poetry and history, and a general love of reading which never forsook her. The steps taken

taken by her unfeeling father to disinherit his child in favor of his brother, who was to succeed him as earl of Cumberland, involved her, while yet a minor, in an anxious and costly litigation with her uncle and his heirs. King James, who was willing to regard the decision of suits at law as a branch of his royal office or prerogative, exerted all his authority to induce her to yield up her claims for a very inadequate compensation; but, writes she in her own memoirs, "Queen Anne the Dane admonished me to persist in my denial of trusting my cause concerning the lands of my inheritance to her husband king James's award; which admonition of hers, and other my friends, did much confirm me in my purpose." She had need of all her resolution in this affair; nothing was in that age more difficult than to prevail, by the mere force of law and right, over private influence and the royal pleasure; and it was only by the failure of her uncle's male line that, at the end of eight-and-thirty years, she saw herself reinstated in the lands and ancient honors of her family.

Lady Anne Clifford married, at the age of eighteen, Richard Sackvil lord Buckhurst, subsequently earl of Dorset and grandson of the poet of the same titles; above twenty years afterwards she became the second wife of Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, whom she also survived many years. Her latter widowhood was the most active period of her life: being then free from control and mistress of a large income, she repaired to her own territories in the

the north, assumed the office of hereditary sheriffess of Westmorland, the public duties of which she discharged in person, and set herself seriously to the task of regulating all around her. At the expense of 40,000*l.* she rebuilt or restored six mansions of her ancestors and about the same number of churches and chapels, injured or demolished in the civil wars of Charles's reign; she founded charities, encouraged industry, patronized learning, established strict order in her household, and, to complete her character, took especial care to record her good works for the example, or admiration, of posterity. It is said that no native of England has ever been so largely commemorated in stone and marble as this illustrious countess; she also caused memoirs to be written of herself and her ancestry from her own dictation, in which she celebrates, without the least reserve, her own extraordinary endowments both of body and mind; and in her diaries, which are still preserved, she has gone so far as to chronicle the clipping of her hair and the paring of her nails. Dr. Donne is reported to have said of her during her youth, "that she could converse on any subject, from predestination to *slea silk*[a]." She died in 1675 at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

Among the Scotch favorites of the king, none was at this time more distinguished than sir John Ramsey, who, for his good service in stabbing the earl of Gowrie, had been advanced by James to the title

[a] Untwisted silk used in embroidery.

of

of viscount Haddington, and, attending his royal master into his land of promise, had been gratified, considerably to the discontent of the English, with leases of crown lands, gifts and pensions. A court letter of this period thus comments on his good fortune: "I seldom or never, except upon an extraordinary cause, have known a greater court of gentlemen than now is; but all of them cannot appease and satisfy the king why a fair white jerfalcon of his lately flew away and cannot be heard of again. But the court will lessen for a season within these two days, for that my lord Haddington and all his favorites, followers and parakells, go shortly to Huntingdon, to a match of hunting that he hath there against my lord of Sheffield's horse; and well may he afford to lose such a match; yea, better than so poor a man as I to be at cost to train and diet my horse to win one; by reason that, as I conceive it, his losing is winning; for he had a good and a gracious maker in this terrestrial globe; for he that made him saved and delivered him out of the merchants' books: yea, if I heard truth, he being 10,000*l.* deep lately: but, good lord, it was well bestowed of him, and the king could do no less for him, he being to match so well as to my lord of Sussex, daughter, which makes a maid of honor wear willow and keep her Christmas in the country[a]."

But, notwithstanding the envy which followed the prosperity of this favorite, his marriage was cele-

[a] *Illustrations*, iii. 335.

brated

brated at court with every outward demonstration of joy and festivity, and twelve noblemen and gentlemen, five of them English and seven Scotch, consented to take parts in the classical mask produced on the occasion by Jonson under the title of "The hue and cry after Cupid." Of this number were the three earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Montgomery. The last of these has been already sufficiently commemorated. Pembroke, his elder brother, the nephew of Sir Philip Sidney, has received from the pen of lord Clarendon a splendid eulogium for wit, learning, affability, disinterestedness and generosity; commendations, however, which are balanced by the distinct admission of his noble panegyrist, "that he indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds almost in all excesses." His accomplishments, and, it is to be feared, his vices also, caused him to be regarded as a model by the young courtiers of his time; he plunged into a sea of prodigal expense in which even his ample revenues were speedily swallowed up; and, to retrieve his circumstances, he submitted to a marriage with one of the coheiresses of Gilbert earl of Shrewsbury, whose personal and mental qualities conspired to render her large fortune a dear purchase to a husband. In his political capacity, this nobleman had unquestionably the merit of being unbribed by Spain; for we are told that, in discussing the conduct of that court towards his own, he would sometimes "rouse, to the trepidation" of king James. The monarch however esteemed him as a member of the

the council; and he obtained the offices of governor of Portsmouth, chancellor of the university of Oxford and chamberlain of the household.

Thomas earl of Arundel, brother-in-law to Pembroke by his marriage with another of the Talbot heiresses, was the head of the great house of Howard; being grandson of the last duke of Norfolk, and son of the scarcely less unfortunate Philip earl of Arundel, who in 1595 died a prisoner in the Tower, where he had languished out several years under sentence for high treason. By the attainder of this earl, all the family honors which still remained had been forfeited, and it was by courtesy only that his son continued to bear the title of lord Maltravers during the rest of Elizabeth's reign. At the time of his father's death, he was only nine years of age. Sir Edward Walker, a dependent of the family, writes, "that his mother, being a lady of great and eminent virtues, was not negligent in his education, and yet so wary, the family being under a cloud, as not to expose him, being her only child, to travel abroad, or appear in much conversation at home[a]." A still more cogent reason, and probably a truer one, for this wariness might have been assigned: the countess of Arundel, who is affectionately mentioned in one of sir Everard Digby's letters to his wife, and who long harboured Southwell the jesuit under her roof, was doubtless a zealous catholic; and it was only under shelter of a strict seclusion that she could safely im-

[a] Walker's *Historical Discourses*, p. 210.

bue

buc the mind of her son with the doctrines of that proscribed faith of which it is suspected that he continued through life a secret votary, and which he transmitted to his posterity.

The earl of Essex, who showed much kindness to Arundel when a boy, was wont to call him "the winter pear," and to predict that he would at last ripen into a great and wise man. But the reserve, the coldness, the exaggerated self-importance, which a domestic education tends to produce, were in Arundel never sufficiently tempered by after-intercourse with the world; and amid the freedom, gaiety and splendor of the courts of James and Charles, he inflexibly preserved the haughty austerity of a feudal baron. From his earliest appearance at court he seems to have disdained compliance with the gorgeous fashions which then prevailed; at his first tilting, usually an occasion of great cost and display, his equipage was remarked as "poor and penurious." In after-life this singularity rather enhanced the dignity of his appearance, so that the earl of Carlisle was wont to say, "Here comes the earl of Arundel in his plain stuff and trunk hose, and his beard in his teeth, that looks more like a nobleman than any of us." Lord Clarendon, who did not love him, describes his exterior to the same effect, thus: "It cannot be denied that he had in his own person, in his aspect and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait and motion. He wore and affected a habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld

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in pictures of the most considerable men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many, towards him, as the image and representative of the ancient nobility and native gravity of the nobles when they had been most venerable: but this was only his outside; his nature and true humour being much disposed to levity and delights, which indeed were very despicable and childish."

James appears to have been from the first inclined to favor this nobleman, like the other members of the Howard family; and it was one of the earliest acts of his reign to reinstate him in all the dignities of his ancestors, excepting the dukedom; and in all the possessions of his father, abating two baronies which the earl of Northampton begged; as a compensation, perhaps, for the trouble which he might have given himself in pleading the cause of his orphan nephew. Soon after the period of which we are treating, his majesty also paid him the compliment of standing sponsor to his son and heir; but the manners of the court had little congeniality with the disposition of Aundel, and in 1609 he commenced a tour through France and Italy which occupied him for three years. He appears to have been the first Englishman whose eyes were opened to the charms of those master-pieces of ancient art which adorn and dignify the Italian cities, and his country, which had owed to the travels of his accomplished ancestor the earl of Surry the introduction of blank verse and of the sonnet of Petrarch, was indebted to his, for her first lesson in *virtu*. It became

became the great object of his after-life to form a collection of the precious relics of antiquity; for which purpose he had his agents in Greece, in the Levant, and in every country of Europe where such objects were known to exist: not that he neglected or despised the efforts of modern genius; on the contrary, he had a picture-gallery filled with the productions of the best masters, and possessed, in particular, more Holbeins than existed in all the world besides. Of ancient medals he formed a splendid series; but the peculiar boast of his collection was its marbles, which excited in an extraordinary degree the wonder, and sometimes the sarcasms, of his uninitiated countrymen. Osborn has a sneer at the folly of the earl of Arundel, who would "give so many hundred crowns for an urn a mason would not have valued at a penny;" and it is recorded amongst the sayings of lord Bacon, that on entering the gardens of Arundel-house and casting his eyes around on the assemblage of pale and naked figures, he affected to start back, exclaiming, "The resurrection!"

But to ridicule succeeded admiration; under the patronage of Charles I. taste flourished, and the earl's expensive *folly* was suddenly transformed into a *pursuit*, which was pronounced liberal, elegant, and an honor to his country. He was not himself a man of learning, but he freely promoted the literary researches of others; the celebrated written tables which have preserved the appellation of the Arundelian marbles, were brought to England at his expense,

pense, and, being transcribed and edited by Selden, were eagerly received by all the scholars of Europe, as a new and important authority on many obscure or disputed points of Grecian chronology.

On the marriage of the princess Elizabeth to the elector palatine, the earl of Arundel was one of the noblemen appointed to conduct her to her husband's dominions; and from Germany he proceeded to revisit his beloved Italy, where he passed some time, occupied in increasing his collection. On his return James summoned him to the council-board, and in 1621 granted him the office of hereditary earl marshal. In virtue of this office, he presided over an arbitrary court, recently revived by the king to the general discontent of his subjects, and which quickly became an intolerable evil, by the stern and haughty spirit with which Arundel wielded his authority. Passing over some other notices of this remarkable personage which will appear in their places, it will be sufficient here to mention, that the earl of Arundel finally quitted his country on the first appearances of civil war, and, taking refuge in Italy, died at Mantua in 1646, "under the same doubtful character of religion," says lord Clarendon, "in which he lived."

Sir Edward Walker in his encomium on the earl of Arundel mentions, that "he was the first person that brought in uniformity in building, and was a chief commissioner to see it performed in London, which since that time has added exceedingly to the beauty of that city." This notice affords an opportunity

tunity of mentioning that the *regulation*, by which must be understood the *restriction*, of building in the metropolis, was a favorite object with James, as it had been with his predecessor; and a proclamation was issued as far back as the second year of his reign, "straightly forbidding all increase of new buildings within the city of London and one mile thereof; expressly commanding all persons to build their forefronts and windows of all their new buildings either of brick or stone, by reason all great and well-grown woods were spent and much wasted; so as timber for shipping waxed scarce[a]."

Little attention however having been paid to this arbitrary edict, a second was issued about seven years afterwards, and severe measures were adopted against the contraveners of the former one; who were summoned to the star-chamber, and either compelled to pull down all such new erections as were obnoxious to the king's decree, or else to redeem them by the unmerciful fines which this detestable tribunal seized every occasion of exacting as offerings to the rapacity of an unfeeling and prodigal prince. Lord Arundel certainly exhibited his preference of architectural taste to public virtue in lending his countenance to practices so arbitrary and tyrannical; and his eulogist would have done well to sink the topic entirely.

The high commission court was at this time in a state of extraordinary activity, and one of its principal victims during the year 1608 was Nicholas

[a] Howe's *Continuation of Stow.*

Fuller,

Fuller, a bencher of Gray's Inn, whose case appears to have excited considerable attention. Two puritans, of the names of Lad and Maunsel, had been apprehended on a charge of celebrating a religious meeting with a deprived minister, which was held to be an illegal conventicle. They were examined in the first instance by the lord-chancellor; and having then refused to take the *ex-officio* oath to answer interrogatories before the high commissioners, they had been committed to prison, where they lay a long time unbailed. Being at length brought up by *habeas corpus*, Mr. Fuller, as their counsel, moved for their discharge, on the ground that the ecclesiastical commissioners "have not power, by virtue of their commission, to imprison, to put to the oath *ex officio*, or to fine, any of his majesty's subjects." For this plea, which little availed his unfortunate clients, the advocate himself was committed to private custody by archbishop Bancroft. How long he then remained in durance does not appear; but having ventured after his liberation to appeal to the public by printing his pleadings, he was remanded to close custody in the house of the dean of St. Paul's, and thence transferred to one of the London gaols, where he lay untried till released by death in February 1619; Bancroft having "told the king that he was the champion of the nonconformists, and ought therefore to be made an example to terrify others from appearing for them[a]."

[a] Compare Lodge, *Illustrations*, ii. 344, and Neal, *History of the puritans*, ii. 42.

These

These proceedings had in some degree the desired effect; many puritan ministers quitted the country with the most zealous of their followers, and took refuge in the principal cities of Holland, where English presbyterian churches were maintained by the States according to the provisions of a treaty with queen Elizabeth.

On April 19th 1608, the country was deprived of a wise and able minister in the person of Thomas Sackvil earl of Dorset, baron Bucklurst and lord-high-treasurer, who died suddenly at the council-table in the 82nd year of his age. No character of the time appears more worthy to excite the curiosity of posterity than the extraordinary man of genius who, after affording in his youth the poetical model of Spenser, was in advanced life selected by queen Elizabeth to succeed to the station of lord Burleigh. It is mortifying to add, that there is no contemporary of equal eminence of whom we possess so few anecdotes. His public life was a long, an active, and an honorable one; but we seldom find him acting singly, or in chief, excepting in his mission to Holland for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the earl of Leicester during his command in that country. The prudence, courage and integrity, with which he acquitted himself in this arduous inquiry, gained him the applause of the nation, and, after the death of her unworthy favorite, the esteem of Elizabeth. On various other public occasions during her reign, we find him joined in commission with the most considerable members of the council,

council, and acting as assessor or coadjutor to Burleigh; in whose measures he usually concurred, without enlisting himself in the Cecil faction. As lord-treasurer, his admirable endowments shone forth conspicuous to all eyes. "He had excellent parts," says the chronicler, "and in his place was exceeding industrious;" and he adds, on the authority of "many exchequer men," that "there never was a better treasurer, both for the king's profit and the good of the subject[a]."

Lord Buckhurst, by the special desire of queen Elizabeth, had been chosen in 1591 to succeed sir Christopher Hatton in the dignity of chancellor of the university of Oxford; an honor which no one ever better merited, or wore with more distinguished grace. The poetical chaplet he had indeed long since laid aside amongst the other vanities of his youth, but the halo of genius still played around his head. Bacon transmitted to him, when earl of Dorset, a copy of his "Advancement of learning" with the following beautiful and appropriate appeal to his favor:....."I humbly present one of the books to your lordship, not only as a chancellor of an university, but as one that was excellently bred in all learning; which I have ever noted to shine in all your speeches and behaviours. And therefore your lordship will yield a gracious aspect to your first love, and take pleasure in the adorning of that wherewith yourself are so much adorned."

[a] Baker's *Chron.*

A rich and polished style of eloquence distinguished him to the latest period of life. "They much commend his elocution," says Naunton, "but more the excellency of his pen; for he was a scholar and a person of a quick dispatch (faculties that yet run in the blood); and they say of him, that his secretaries did little for him by the way of inditement, in which they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and style: and for his dispatches, and the content he gave to suitors, he had a decorum seldom since put in practice; for he had of his attendants that took in roll the names of all suitors, with the date of their first addresses; and these in their order had hearing; so that a fresh man could not leap over his head that was of a more ancient edition, except in the urgent affairs of state[a]."

In the star-chamber, where he often sat as a judge, his speaking was highly admired for its uncommon graces; but the only extant specimen of the powers of his style in prose occurs, where it would not be looked for, in his last will and testament, written in 1607; when, according to the best authorities, he must have attained the age of eighty. In this paper his beloved wife, with whom he had shared more than fifty years of wedlock, is thus emphatically commemorated: "*Imprimis*, I give, will and bequeath unto the lady Cicilie countess of Dorset, my most virtuous, faithful and dearly beloved wife,—

[a] *Fragmenta Regalia.*

not

not as any recompense of her infinite merit towards me,—who, for incomparable love, zeal and hearty affection ever showed unto me, and for those her so rare, reverent and many virtues of charity, modesty, fidelity, humility, secrecy, wisdom, patience, and a mind replete with all piety and goodness, which evermore both have and do abound in her, deserveth to be honored, loved and esteemed above all the transitory wealth and treasure of this world, and therefore by no price of earthly riches can by me be valued, recompensed or requited;—to her therefore, my most virtuous, faithful and entirely beloved wife,—not, I say, as a recompense, but as a true token and testimony of my unspeakable love, affection, estimation and reverence, long since fixed and settled in my heart and soul towards her, I give," &c.

In bequeathing a "picture" of queen Elizabeth, "cut out in agate," as an heir-loom in his family, he takes occasion to recount, in terms of the warmest gratitude, all the benefits bestowed upon him by his royal kinswoman; after which he thus sums up her praises: "All which favors were much the more to be esteemed by me, because they proceeded from her that may justly be accounted among the number of the most rarest, wisest and worthiest queens of the world; of whom I may truly say, that whilst she lived, she was so fearful and formidable to all her enemies abroad, grateful and faithful to her confederates and neighbours, and lastly, at home, by all her servants and subjects, both heartily beloved, loyally

obeyed; and now that she is gone to God, her blessed name remaineth glorious and famous to all posterity and nations; yea, even to the very uttermost ends of the world." He speaks also with what must elsewhere have been entitled extreme adulation, of the virtues of James; and with magnificent eulogium of the character, public and private, of the earl of Salisbury; and having nominated him, together with the earl of Suffolk, supervisors of his will, he thus concludes:—"of whose firm and true friendship like as I shall always rest with the greatest confidence, so must it be the less grievous unto mine if others, of whom I have right well deserved, shall nevertheless, when I am gone, perhaps soon forget the memory of my deserts towards them; considering as well the great incertitude of mortal comforts, as the common ingratitude of this iniquitous world, where, for the most part, mislikes and misconceipts, though never so unjustly apprehended, are graven in brass, and good turns and benefits, though never so kindly bestowed, are written in the dust[a]."

Such were the last honey-drops which distilled from this Nestor of the English state! Dr. Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was chaplain to the earl of Dorset, and preached his funeral sermon: this is, of course, a set panegyric; on the whole, however, the topics of praise appear to be selected with judgement; though of his poetry not a word is said. His hospitality and great housekeep-

[a] *Peerage*, by sir E. Brydges, art. Duke of Dorset.

ing

ing are highly commended; for the last twenty years his family is stated to have consisted of 220 persons, besides workmen and others hired. "A very rare example," it is added, "in this age of ours, when housekeeping is so much decayed." A good deal is said of his lordship's attachment to the church of England, and of his care in the education of his grand-children,—meaning the two sons of his heir lord Buckhurst;—and of his anxiety "that they should be trained up in the truth of religion, far from popery and idolatry." "He never could endure," affirms his chaplain, "that they should be otherwise matched than where there was true religion." On which it may be remarked, that he had at least manifested no such repugnance in the marriage of his children. The wife of his eldest son,—a daughter of the duke of Norfolk,—was undoubtedly a catholic, because a laudatory and consolatory poem on her death was written by father Southwell and dedicated to her four children. Two of the three daughters of the earl of Dorset were also matched into families noted for the Romish faith. One was the wife of Anthony viscount Montague, the other of Henry lord Abergavenny.

The earl of Salisbury, destined to follow his eminent father through all the steps of his preferment, succeeded the earl of Dorset in the office of lord-treasurer without resigning that of secretary of state, or even transferring any considerable portion of its duties to inferior hands. The earl of Northampton, who was about this time appointed lord-privy-seal, is

is said to have enjoyed a considerable share of James's political confidence; but with respect to all relations with foreign courts, including the nomination and direction of the diplomatic body, the authority of Cecil suffered no control except from the wilfulness and the prejudices of his master; and now that the treasury was added to his charge, he might justly be regarded as prime or sole minister of England. His promotion was generally applauded, from the confidence which his abilities and his hereditary experience commanded; and it was fondly hoped that he would speedily apply remedies to the numerous grievances and abuses which had been suffered to accumulate in this department. But, with a treasury completely exhausted, a monarch plunged in debt, averse to business, surrounded by a hungry crew of favorites and flatterers, and cursed with an incurable facility, no human ability could reconcile the gratification of the prince and the satisfaction of the people; and Salisbury had lived too long the devoted servant of the crown to hesitate on the option.

It was one of his first steps to introduce a new *regulation* of the customs, and under this name nearly to double, without the concurrence of parliament, this important branch of the royal revenue. Several injurious monopolies were established; other expedients succeeded; many of them oppressive, all unconstitutional, since it was their common aim to render the sovereign independent of his people in money matters. Without further pursuing the subject,

ject, we may venture to remark, that it is from the treasurership of Salisbury that the political historian will date the silent commencement of that financial system of the house of Stuart on which issue was joined between the king and country by the resistance of John Hampden in the memorable cause of shipmoney.

During the year 1608, the eyes of all the politicians of Europe were fixed on the negotiations for a peace between the king of Spain and the United Provinces, which began with a reluctant recognition of Dutch independence, and ended in a truce for twelve years, signed in April 1609. Both France and England afforded their mediation, and James dispatched sir Robert Spencer to the Hague to act conjointly with sir Ralph Winwood, his ambassador in ordinary. The final triumph of the Dutch in their long and arduous struggle for the possession of civil and religious liberty, was viewed with no emotions of generous pleasure by the king of Great Britain, who had not scrupled to stigmatize them as rebels on more than one occasion, and who certainly held no religion so sacred as the cause of kings. But Salisbury exerted himself on this occasion, and overruled the prejudices of his master for the good of his country. He made him sign two treaties with the States, to the discontent of the king of Spain; and notwithstanding some suspicions infused into the Dutch by the ministers of France, there is reason to believe that a very exact neutrality was maintained by James in his character of a mediator. The

conduct

conduct of the court of Madrid towards Great Britain, before and during the period of these important negotiations, is worthy of close observation: while it furnishes a striking view of the overweening pride, inveterate bigotry, and treacherous politics of the Spanish government, it also affords a just measure of the patience and long-suffering of James, and of the low estimation to which the country of Elizabeth was reduced beneath his sceptre.

A few extracts from the correspondence of sir Charles Cornwallis, the British ambassador, with the earl of Salisbury, published in Winwood's Memorials, will illustrate these remarks.

"This night," writes sir Charles Cornwallis in June 1606, "it was said unto me, that a question was asked, whether I had preaching used in my house? the party that did put the question saying, that I should do very well to forbear the exercise, considering that the king could not restrain the people if they should take offence. I said to the party, I should be well contented to receive the king's restraint, for then should I be in hope within few days to enjoy the air of mine own country, and until then said, that upon every Sunday I had, and would, by God's grace, have a sermon." Notwithstanding this spirited and proper answer, repeated attempts were afterwards made to alarm or cajole the ambassador into the surrender of this essential privilege of his office. Meantime the Spanish ambassador freely celebrated mass in London, and notwithstanding the laws, English catholics were seldom

dom molested in attending his chapel. "Yesterday," says Cornwallis, "I had a message from the king, that this morning about nine of the clock I should have access unto him. I observed that hour, but was not observed with: for I stayed till after twelve of the clock in a little lobby, where at first I found a little bare form (such as I think there are few in my master's scullery which are not furnished with much better) unaccompanied and unattended (as ambassadors are in England), but left to walk alone, or take my seat on the form when weariness should inforce me. Yet much favored had I been if the poor form had been left me; but one of the king's chamber (either out of want of courtesy and respect, or of wit and good will,) caused my form to be taken away and carried into the next chamber; so as then, for the space of one whole hour, I was inforced to hold me to my walk." After such a reception, the ambassador was, as may be imagined, not ill-disposed to make complaints; and he represented to the king of Spain in strong terms the denial, or intolerable delay, of justice to English merchants who had suits in his country;—the scandalous "increase of entertainments" lately given at Madrid to Blunt and Owen, two persons notoriously implicated in the powder-plot;—the publication by some jesuits there of the "feigned and ridiculous miracle" wrought by Garnet's blood on the straws, and the public exhibition, even within his court, of pictures of this atrocious conspirator, with the inscription—Henry Garnet, martyred in London such a day.

a day. Philip III. promised redress in all these matters, and really suppressed the offensive picture.

In June 1607 a cessation of arms had been concluded between the archduke and the States, and Cornwallis began to suspect that the Spaniards would make peace without the knowledge or mediation of his master, from whom they had carefully concealed their negotiations. In this frame of mind he writes; "Touching Mr. Vanlore's business, having proved all other means I could invent, I am now assaying the ordinary hook that here takes the fish. If that prevail not, I shall despair; for love us they did never, and now of late they have left to fear us."

The flight of Tyrone and the other disaffected Irish gave the English government much cause of jealousy against Philip III. Salisbury writes to Cornwallis, that long before they had thus declared themselves, it was well known to the king, though it could not be judicially proved, that their priests and others had received commission from those Irish chiefs to treat with the court of Spain respecting their entertainment in that country when they should have quitted their own: that under these circumstances, their open renunciation of their allegiance and native land was an event rather favorable than otherwise: "So as if the council of Spain," he adds, "shall conceive that they have now some great advantage over this state, when it shall appear what a party their king may have if he shall like to support it, there may be this answer; that those Irish, without the king of Spain, are poor worms upon earth;

and

and when the king of Spain shall think it time to begin with Ireland, the king my master is more like than ever queen Elizabeth was, to find a wholesomer place of the king of Spain's where he would be loth to hear of the English, and to show the Spaniards that shall be sent into Ireland as fair a way as they were taught before." Thus menaced Salisbury, with all the spirit of the former reign about him; but the Spaniards well knew how totally the case was altered. The Irish chieftains, in defiance of the strongest remonstrances of the British ambassador in Flanders, were honorably received (as has been mentioned) by the archduke, and publicly feasted by Spinola; and a new company was immediately formed in the archduke's army, to give "present entertainment" to their followers: finally, they repaired, not indeed to Spain, but to Milan, where they lived favored and pensioned by Philip III., notwithstanding his absolute promise to the English court, not to suffer them to remain in any part of his dominions; and in defiance of the articles of the treaty, which restrained each king from entertaining the traitors of the other.

Meantime, the Spanish ambassador in England maintained an active correspondence with the concealed jesuits in this country, and afforded all facilities to their communication with father Creswell and other avowed English jesuits in Spain; where the most atrocious calumnies against James and his government were industriously promulgated by this faction, without any check from the Spanish court,

court, and much to the gratification of the Spanish people.

The treatment which awaited British merchants trading to the *friendly* ports of Spain and Portugal, is well exposed in the following advertisements of our ambassador:

"There hath lately been apprehended by the office of Inquisition at Ayamonte and conveyed to Seville, one Thomas Ferres a merchant..... His trouble, as himself supposeth, groweth out of the malice of a friar of our nation resident in that town; who, prevailing not to draw him to subscribe to a form of confession and oath (the copy whereof I send here inclosed), hath, as it seems, either by himself or some other of that malignant condition, procured him to be accused to the inquisitors. These, like hungry hawks, have been easily induced to seize upon so pleasing a prey, having not only laid their talons upon his person but upon his goods.... If in time I had known it, so much do I presume upon the favor I have here with the inquisitor-general (now president of Castile), as I would have hoped to have prevented his restraint, and procured a streighter cell for the friar that hath been the cause of it. That malignant generation of our fugitive churchmen, employ not their studies so much how to serve God as to destroy men whom their general mother, our dear country, hath made their brethren. Into a great and overt hatred they are of late entered with the inquisitor-general himself, in regard they take knowledge how much he respecteth me,

and

and desireth to give satisfaction in all things that concerns the service of my master. One of their crew lately, out of the abundance of that spirit, said unto a man of mine, that he doubted not but the pope would shortly disappoint that man of his office of inquisition, and settle another that should have more care to advance the church, and not so much how to please princes.

"Of some of our traders into this country, if I should write unto your lordship what I find and know, I might more easily give grief to you than amendment to them. Howsoever they complain there, I have gathered out of some of themselves that their gains are great here.....It is true that some few of them that fall upon the rock suffer much; neither is it to be hoped that it will ever be otherwise, so long as the principal offices of judicature in the ports are sold for money, and jesuits and fugitives of our nation appointed to places of most concourse; where such as they cannot infect with the breath of their malice to their king and country, they endeavour to cut off with the sword of the inquisition."

Thus insolent was at this time the ascendancy of the most formidable of all the religious orders over the councils of Spain; thus active and inveterate was its enmity to the English state! Many other instances of the uncharitable sentiments and hostile conduct of the Spaniards with regard to their heretical allies might here be cited from the dispatches of sir Charles Cornwallis; but the specimens already given

given may suffice. All this time the duke of Lerma and the other ministers of Philip III. were lavish in their professions of unbounded esteem for the king of Great Britain, and they continued to feed his representative with false declarations, false reports of their situation with the Dutch, and false promises of redress of grievances. "Their friendship towards us," writes Cornwallis, "I cannot more fitly compare than to the weather of this spring, which we have found some one or two days extreme hot, and for many days after as unseasonably cold[a]."

The Spanish court, amongst its other artifices, had let fall a hint of the advantages of a marriage between prince Henry and the eldest infanta. To this overture the ambassador was instructed to lend a favorable ear; he proceeded however with caution, and after several affected or real fluctuations of counsel on the part of Spain,—not unmixed with intimations that concessions on the point of religion, impossible to a catholic power, would be easy to a prince who was head of his own church,—the negotiation was broken off by an explicit declaration of Philip III., that he could not bear to risk the salvation of his daughter by uniting her to an heretical prince. At the same time he was not ashamed to propose in her stead, to that very prince, his niece of the house of Savoy. Can it be believed, that

[a] See the entire correspondence of Cornwallis in Winwood, vol. ii.

after

after this insult, added to so many others, James's infatuated desire of the Spanish alliance should have continued and even augmented; and that after the interval of a very few years he should have condescended to open a similar treaty between his son Charles and a younger infanta?

The adherence of James to these matrimonial projects will appear the more extraordinary, if considered in connexion with the causes which were at this time rendering him more and more the object of hostility and aversion to the Roman pontiff and to all who acknowledged his authority. The principal of these causes was the famous controversy of the oath of allegiance, which demands our attention as one of the most remarkable features in the literary and political history of the monarch.

It has been already mentioned, that an oath of allegiance, which magistrates were impowered and injoined to tender to all convicted recusants and to all strangers, was among the defensive measures adopted by the English parliament against the catholics whilst the alarm and horror of the powder-plot were still recent. The king had interposed to modify the original severity of this oath, and to render it one of the least offensive tests ever imposed. It was simply a declaration of civil obedience to the prince, with an absolute renunciation of the deposing power of the pope. On the king's supremacy it was silent; and as it trenched on no point whatever of catholic faith, it was cheerfully taken by Blackwell, the archpriest of England, and through his influence by a considerable

considerable number both of priests and laymen. James was delighted with the success of his expedient; and he had begun to triumph over those sturdy reformists who believed the hostility of papists to all protestant governments radical and inflexible, when, to the equal confusion of himself and of his catholic subjects, the sovereign pontiff rose fiercely in defence of his obsolete prerogative of dethroning; and, in a very earnest brief, affectionately exhorted his faithful children to incur all tortures, and even the pains of martyrdom, rather than compromise with their consciences on so tender a point. The English catholics demurred; they even doubted, or affected to doubt, the genuineness of the papal brief, till a second, couched in still more urgent language, arrived to explain it.

Cardinal Bellarmine from behind his Alps inveighed against the criminal compliance of Blackwell in taking the oath; and answered the letter which the archpriest had addressed to his catholic fellow countrymen in defence of it. Father Preston, a learned Benedictine, under the assumed name of Widderington, vindicated the taking of the oath. James himself entered the arena *incognito*, armed with his "*Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*," or Apology for the oath; the best of his pieces. Bellarmine, one of the most skilful champions of papal usurpation, published a learned reply to it; and Parsons, the first English writer of his church, and almost of his age, composed an eloquent and powerful one. Other replies and rejoinders followed; subsequently the

the doctors of the Sorbonne were consulted, when forty-eight approved the test, and only six condemned it. Eight priests confined in Newgate humbly and dutifully petitioned the pope to withdraw his prohibition; but neither this application, nor others of a similar nature, moved the pope to compassionate sufferings of which his own haughty obstinacy was the cause. The jesuits, sworn champions of the tiara, animated the English catholics to a persevering refusal of the oath, and set them many examples of courageous martyrdom in this cause. On the other hand, the English government and nation became more and more exasperated against the followers of the ancient faith, which appeared thus incompatible with loyalty and patriotism; and James, in spite of his predilections, his policy and his personal apprehensions, frequently saw himself compelled to give way to the execution of the whole system of persecuting laws[a].

But before matters had arrived at this extremity, he determined to make another experiment of the force of his much-vaunted rhetoric; and in 1609 he republished his Apology with his name, and with a dedication and præmonition addressed to all Christian kings and princes. This præmonition may justly be characterized as a learned defence of protestant principles, an acute exposure of the false statements and false reasonings of Bellarmine, and

[a] See in Butler's *Memoirs of English catholics*, vol. i., a learned and candid history of this controversy.

a vigorous, but not intemperate, manifesto against papal usurpation and tyranny. Yet it was a vain and useless ostentation of parts and knowledge; and a truer judgement, by admonishing the royal author of the incompatibility of the polemical character with the policy and the dignity of a sovereign, would have spared him the numerous mortifications and inconveniences which ensued.

Copies of the work were of course to be forwarded to all the dedicatees, and the rank of the writer required that this should be done through his ambassadors, who were thus placed in very perplexing circumstances at the catholic courts, where such an offering could scarcely be expected to prove acceptable. Henry IV., notwithstanding his hearty contempt for the pursuits and performances of his Britannic majesty, set the example of receiving the volume with civility; but in Spain the affair was not likely to pass so easily. The jesuits quickly spread the alarm of a book written by the king of England against the pope, so that it was repeatedly mentioned to Cornwallis even before he had received any advices from his own court respecting it; and as it was easily divined that sir Charles, who was about this time recalled, meditated the delivery of the work at his audience of leave, steps of a very decided character were taken to frustrate his design. Notice was sent him at what hour the king of Spain would receive his visit, and also, that the duke of Lerma desired to see him previously; Cornwallis anticipated the event. The minister, with very unusual

usual frankness, entered directly on the subject; he said that to his king "was and ever should be dear and of much esteem any thing presented from his majesty's hands, as the prince in the world whose perfect amity he most affected; but he marvelled much that to his majesty it should not be understood, that his king was so entire and sincere in his faith, and in obedience to the church of Rome, (from whence is upon pain of excommunication directly forbidden receipt or reading of any books of such nature as is said to be that of his majesty's,) as there could not be so much as a conceit had that he would by any means be drawn to receive it. He therefore, out of his particular good will to myself," adds the ambassador, "and his ever continuing affection to his majesty of Great Britain, and desire to hold firm the amity and good correspondence between both kings, thought fit hereof to give unto me this plain and ample warning, to the end that, if such a book I had to present, I might forbear to do it; whereby might be avoided a refusal that would be so unpleasing to the one to give, and so distasteful to the other to receive." To this decision the English ambassador found himself obliged to signify his submission, though he seized the opportunity of adverting to the nature of the work, and of inveighing against papal domination in a strain very novel, and doubtless very shocking, to Spanish ears;—and thus unsatisfactorily the matter ended[a].

[a] Winwood, iii. 66.

At Venice, the zeal of Wotton for the literary success of his master had nearly produced more serious mischiefs. Sir Thomas Edmonds writes of the circumstance to Winwood as follows: "Sir Henry Wotton hath had of late a great contestation with the state of Venice, for that after they had received the king's books they did by public ordinance forbid the publishing of the same; which he took so tenderly, as thereupon he charged them with the breach of their amity with his majesty, and declared unto them, that in respect thereof he could not longer exercise his charge in the quality of a public minister among them. This protestation of his was found so strange by that state, as they sent hither in great diligence to understand whether his majesty would avow him therein; which did very much trouble them here to make a cleanly answer thereunto, for the salving of the ambassador's credit, who is censured to have prosecuted the matter to an over-great extremity[a]."

It was in such petty and miserable squabbles that James I. compromised his own dignity and the honor of England, before the eyes of all the princes of Europe.

Meantime, the king was disgracing himself at home by a folly of a different kind, the adoption of a new and despicable minion whom we shall observe gradually thrust forward to the dictatorship of the court and almost of the kingdom. This fa-

[a] Winwood, iii. 77.

vorite

vorite was a handsome youth named Robert Carr, or Ker, born of a gentleman's family in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, whose introduction to the notice of the king is thus related. Carr had made some abode in France, in what capacity does not appear, and had just returned from that country with the acquisition of the courtly garb and distinguished air by which a fine person is set off to the greatest advantage, when one of James's Scotch courtiers,—some say sir James Hay, others lord Dingwall,—selected him as his page or squire at a tilting match; —probably that which celebrated the anniversary of the coronation on July 25, 1606. The office assigned him was, to present to the sovereign, according to established usage, the shield and device of his master; but as he was dismounting for this purpose, his horse started and threw him at the feet of the monarch, with his leg broken by the fall. James, who had been already captivated by his graces, was filled with grief at the accident; he instantly ordered his own surgeons to give their assistance, and as soon as the tilting was over visited the sufferer in person. Some accounts state, that Carr had formerly attended the king as a page in Scotland, and that the incident of the tilt only produced a recognition; which may have been the case, though it appears probable that another Robert Carr, a relation and friend of the favorite, sometimes confounded with him, who had been created a knight of the Bath at the coronation, and was afterwards made earl of Ancram, had also served the king in this capacity. But, however

ever this might be, it was from his opportune fracture that the prosperity of Carr took its date. The doting king visited him daily, occupied himself with his fortune, and even with his education, which he found miserably deficient, and soon exhibited him to the envying courtiers as the intercessor through whom all graces were henceforth to be sought. On Christmas eve 1607, he was knighted and sworn gentleman of the bed-chamber; in the ensuing February, sir George Chaworth writes to the earl of Shrewsbury that "sir Robert Carr is now the especially graced man[a];" and the following letter of uncertain date, but probably not later than 1608, marks the maturity of the royal phrensy, as well as the vile adulation of his court.

Lord Thomas Howard to sir John Harrington.

My good and trusty knight;

If you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for court whenever it suiteth your own conveniency: the king hath often inquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the "merry blade," as he hath oft called you since you was here. I will now premise certain things to be observed by you toward well gaining our prince's good affection:— He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means; he doth

[a] Lodge, iii. 366.

admire

admire good fashion in clothes, I pray you give good heed hereunto; strange devices oft come into man's conceit; some one regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valor, or virtue; another hath perchance special affection towards outward things, clothes, deportment and good countenance; I would wish you to be well trimmed; get a new jerkin, well bordered, and not too short; the king saith, he liketh a flowing garment; be sure it be not all of one sort, but diversely colored, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffened and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their suits for want of due observance of these matters. The king is nicely heedful of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters.

"I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert Carr is now most likely to win the prince's affection, and doth it wonderously in a little time. The prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smooths his ruffled garment, and, when he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to divers others. This young man doth much study all art and device; he hath changed his tailors and tiremen many times, and all to please the prince, who laugheth at the long-grown fashion of our young courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the king, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste

taste and what pleaseth. In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. Do not of yourself say, "This is good, or bad;" but, "If it were your majesty's good opinion, I myself should think so and so." Ask no more questions than what may serve to discover the prince's thought. In private discourse, the king seldom speaketh of any man's temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing;—the roan jennet whereon the king rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised; and the good furniture above all, what lost a great man much notice the other day. A noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the king mounting the roan; delivered his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given. The noble departed, and came to court the next day, and got no answer again. The lord-treasurer was then pressed to move the king's pleasure touching the petition. When the king was asked for answer thereto, he said in some wrath, "Shall a king give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrups?" Now it fell out that the king had new furniture when the noble saw him in the court-yard, but he was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good knight, our noble failed in his suit. I could relate and offer some other remarks on these matters....

"You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what

what passed in the queen's days. These things are no more the same. Your queen did talk of her subjects' love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well; our king talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too, as long as it holdeth good. Carr hath all the favors, as I told you before; the king teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too; for as he is a Scotish lad, he hath much need of better language. The king doth much covet his presence; the ladies too are not behind hand in their admiration; for I tell you, good knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favored, strong-shouldered and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty; though, G— wot, he well knoweth when to show his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely; and yet will you come to court and think to be well favored? Why, I say again, good knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto; your Latin and your Greek, your Italian and your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a time, as strangers at such a place; but these are not the things men live by now-a-days. Will you say, the moon shineth all the summer? that the stars are bright jewels fit for Carr's ears? that the roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be bestridden by Alexander? that his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenice's locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing? Your lady is virtuous, and somewhat

somewhat of a good housewife; has lived in a court in her time, and I believe you may venture her forth again; but I know those would not so quietly rest, were Carr to leer on their wives, as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too they should be so noticed. If any mischance be to be wished, 'tis breaking a leg in the king's presence, for this fellow owes all his favor to that bout; I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own horse than the king's roan jennet. We are almost worn out in our endeavours to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labor to gain favor, but all in vain; where it endeth I cannot guess, but honors are talked of speedily for him[a]."

The remarks of an intelligent foreigner on manners, characters, and the general state of a country, are always interesting and instructive, and their im-

[a] *Nugæ*, i. 390.—It is not easy to decide who was the writer of this spirited letter; since there existed at this period no person who, according to modern usage, would be entitled lord Thomas Howard. I conceive him to have been Thomas Howard viscount Bindon, who succeeded his father in that title about 1600, and is said to have died soon after 1609. It is possible, that the letter of sir John Harrington already cited as belonging to the year 1607, ought to be placed later and considered as having reference to a visit to court undertaken in consequence of these persuasions of lord Howard; but as one of the letters is undated, and the other manifestly wrong dated in the original edition of the *Nugæ*, no certainty on this head can be obtained.

There were two other Thomas Howards, the earl of Suffolk and his second son; but the sentiments do not suit the first, and the second had at this time no title; afterwards he was earl of Berkshire.

portance

portance is much enhanced when communicated in the form of an official statement intended for the private information of a foreign potentate: such a document we possess in a description of England written in Italian by cardinal Bentivoglio, the historian of the wars in Flanders, when filling the station of nuncio at the court of the archduke and the infanta at Brussels, and transmitted to the court of Rome in January 1609. An abridged translation of the characters given of the king, queen and royal family, will here find their place. It should be premised, that it does not appear whether the cardinal visited England in person, or collected his information from the catholic exiles who filled the Flemish court; but his account is drawn up with great care and accuracy, and betrays no sinister views; on religion he speaks of course like a Romish prelate. A brief geographical description of James's three kingdoms represents their strength as very considerable; England is mentioned as fertile, rich and populous; its inhabitants as excelling in beauty and stature, warlike, and particularly formidable at sea; "and the said English are very proud, and beyond measure disdainful of every foreign nation." London is stated to contain 400,000 inhabitants, principally artisans and those chiefly concerned in woollen manufactures.

"The king of England is about forty-six, rather above the middle size, of a fair and florid complexion, and of lineaments very noble to behold. In the rest of his person, and particularly in his gestures and carriage,

carriage, he discovers no kind of grace or royal dignity. He eats and drinks much, and disregards all regimen. His chief exercise is hunting, for which he has so great a fondness that he consumes in it both the principal part of his time, and it may be said himself also; for such continued and violent exercise must be rather pernicious than salutary. This is his first taste; his second is for books and literature, in which he professes to be greatly versed and to have merited a high place. He has composed a moral and political piece, the *Basilicon Doron*; and also the Apology, first printed anonymously and not then known to be his, now entituled *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*.

"Occupied by these two pursuits, the king of England lives remote and almost entirely estranged from the most important cares and concerns of the state. Besides this mode of life, more that of a theologian than a prince, a hunter than a king, he betrays many other imperfections and defects, and thus refutes the opinion of an ancient sage, that states would be happy in which either learned men were governors, or kings were men of learning. This king is held by many to be of a nature rather mild than cruel, and these endeavour to justify the continued persecution of the catholics in England by saying, that he permits it rather out of the necessity of following the mode of government established by the late queen, than to gratify himself with their sufferings and their blood. Others think that he is naturally little inclined to mercy, and that he continues

nues the persecution of the catholics rather from the hatred which he entertains for their religion, and from a desire to exalt heresy, which he favors more from a tenacious impression of the doctrine, than from motives of policy.

"The king is prodigal in giving and in spending, and rather profuse than liberal. He is very courteous towards strangers, especially ambassadors, whom he caresses with all possible attentions and with rich presents at parting.

"He speaks extremely well, and has a happy memory; gifts of which he has often made a great display, especially on occasions of opening the parliament, when, instead of confining himself to the dignified brevity observed by his predecessors, he has chosen to exhibit his talents in long speeches interspersed with many matters belonging to erudition rather than government.

"Through life he has shown himself of a very timid nature, and has exhibited no martial spirit nor love of military men. He well understands the arts of simulation and dissimulation; as he clearly proved in Scotland, by amusing the catholic princes with promises of granting the free exercise of their religion to the English catholics when he should become their king, and flattering the heretics with assurances that he would make no change in the laws established by the queen. With the same artifice he now entertains several treaties of marriage, for his eldest son and only daughter, with different princes of the two parties.

"The

"The queen, a sister of the king of Denmark, is praised as one of the handsomest princesses of her time. She shows a noble spirit, and is singularly graceful, courteous and affable. She delights beyond measure in admiration and praises of her beauty, in which she has the vanity to think that she has no equal. Hence she makes public exhibitions of herself in a thousand ways and with a thousand different inventions, and sometimes to so great an excess, that it has been doubted which went furthest,—the king in the ostentation of his learning, or the queen in the display of her beauty. The queen is much attached to the free mode of life customary in England; and as she is very affable, she often puts it in practice with the ladies whom she admits to the greatest intimacy, visiting them by turns at their own houses, where she diverts herself with private amusements, laying aside all the dignity and majesty of a princess.

"She rails against the Italian jealousy of women, and has more than once said jestingly to the ambassadors of Italian princes, that their countrymen ought to be banished from England for fear of their introducing the fashion of jealousy. Her great passion is for balls and public entertainments, which she herself arranges, and which serve as a public theatre on which to display her grace and beauty. She is fond of festivals after the mode of Italy, has a great taste for every thing Italian, and understands the language very well; so does also the king.

"As to the royal children, the prince of Wales is

now

now fifteen, of a noble aspect, fine deportment and high spirit; but at present he appears somewhat fierce in his disposition. He spends much of his time in bodily exercises, of all which he is very fond, but most particularly those of a martial character.

"The duke of York is nine years of age, and the daughter twelve, both handsome, and of a noble expression of countenance."

In speaking of the relations of England with foreign states, it is worthy of remark, that the cardinal represents the peace which she had recently concluded with Spain and with Flanders,—one power in effect,—as "a concealed war of continual suspicions:" and he thus strongly states the causes of these jealousies: "The king of England dreads the vicinity of the Spanish army quartered in Flanders; and the fomentation which might hence be given to any disturbances among his own subjects. In Flanders also he says that the gunpowder-plot, an account of which has been published, was in part contrived; many noble English, Scotch and Irish, whom he calls rebels, are here received into the army and largely pensioned; here too seminaries for youth of both sexes, natives of his kingdoms, are established and largely supplied by the alms of the king of Spain; and finally, king James perceives that Flanders is in a manner the sole refuge of the catholics who are driven, or who fly, from his dominions; and that the persons who repair to his states for the purpose of preserving the catholic religion within them are principally educated here, in the seminaries

seminaries above mentioned." The cardinal adds, that the king apprehends an invasion of Ireland from the ports of Spain. On the other hand, he observes that the revolt of the Dutch provinces was principally supported by the valor of the English auxiliaries, the best troops they ever had; and that should the war in Flanders recommence on the expiration of the twelve years' truce, the king of Spain would dread their receiving succours again from the same quarter. On the whole, he concludes that peace between these countries can be only nominal. It would have been well had king James settled his mind in a similar conviction[a].

[a] The "Description of England" by cardinal Bentivoglio has never been printed. The above translations were made from a transcript of a copy existing among bishop Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian library, obligingly communicated to me by B. H. Bright, Esq.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XI.

1610.

Court news.—Account of prince Henry.—Parliament.—Lord Salisbury's speech.—Grievances.—King's dislike to the common law.—Cowell's Interpreter.—Arrogant speech of the king.—Sir J. Spencer.—Letter of lady Compton.—Creation of the prince of Wales.—Mask of queens.—Tilting.—Assassination of Henry IV.—Prosecutions of jesuits; —death of Cadwallader.—Death and character of father Parsons.—Of archbishop Bancroft.—Motives of Abbot's promotion.—Affair of Sprot.—Baldwyn the jesuit.—Lord Herbert of Chirbury.—Free speech of sir H. Neville.—Parliament dissolved.

THE state of the court at the opening of the year 1610, is thus reported by Mr. Chamberlain in a letter to Winwood of February 13.

"I can make you no long relation of our Christmas games, being grown such a house-dove that I stir little abroad, specially to look after such sports. The barriers on Twelfth-night they say were very well performed, and the prince behaved himself every way very well and gracefully. The three prizes were bestowed on the earl of Montgomery, young Darcy son to the lord Darcy, and sir Robert Gordon a Scot, more in favor of the nation than for any due desert. Instead of a *plaudite*, they had an exceeding good peal of ordnance or chambers, that graced the matter very much.

"The next day, the prince, with his assistance all in livery, and the defendants in their best bravery, rode in great pomp to convoy the king to St. James's, whither he had invited him and all the court to supper (the queen only being absent); and there ended his table; the allowance whereof, from the publishing of his challenge, had been 100*l.* a day. If the charge do not hinder it, he would fain undertake another *triumph*, or show, against the king's day in March, and the queen would likewise have a mask against Candlemas or Shrovetide. She hath been somewhat melancholy of late about her jointure, that was not fully to her liking; whereupon, to give her contentment, there is 3000*l.* a year added to it out of the customs, with a donative of 20,000*l.* to pay her debts. The lady Arabella's business, whatsoever it was, is ended, and she restored to her former place and grace. The king gave her a cupboard of plate better than 200*l.* for a new-year's gift, and a thousand marks to pay her debts, besides some yearly addition to her maintenance; want being thought the chiefest cause of her discontentment, though she be not altogether free from suspicion of being collapsed.

"At a supper the last week, made by the lady Elizabeth Hatton, there grew a question between the earls of Argyle and Pembroke about place, which the Scot maintains to be his by seniority, as being now become all Britons. Our nobility now begin to startle at it (now it touches their freehold), but, for ought I hear, the king leaves it as he finds it,

it, and refers it over to the parliament; which is now likely to hold on, for young Yelverton hath made his peace, and divers gentlemen that were put out of the commission of the peace for being over busy the last sessions, are restored; and sir Henry Witherington released from his confining or restraint.....

"Our East India merchants have lately built a goodly ship of above 1200 ton, to the launching whereof the king and prince were invited and had a bountiful banquet. The king graced sir Thomas Smith the governor with a chain in manner of a collar, better than 200*l.* with his picture hanging at it, and put it about his neck with his own hands, naming the ship, Trade's increase; and the prince a pinnace of 250 tons built to wait on her, Peppercorn[a]."

The appearance of prince Henry as principal challenger at the barriers on Twelfth-night was a circumstance of some consequence; being his first introduction to the court and the nation in a manly character. After this period his history strictly belongs to that of the public scene on which he was destined to perform a short yet brilliant part; but the melancholy interest which the disappointment of a nation's hopes has cast around his memory, prompts us to trace him back to still earlier years, and inquire into the foundation of the high expectations which he so generally excited.

Prince Henry Frederic, eldest son of king James,

[a] Winwood, iii. 117.

was born at Stirling castle on February 19, 1594. His father committed his infancy to the joint care of the earl of Mar and of the countess his mother, who had been his own nurse: both were persons of merit, who conciliated the esteem of their charge, and even his affection, though it is said that a natural austerity of temper, joined to a strict sense of duty, effectually restrained the countess from any excess on the side of indulgence. James and his queen lived habitually much apart; both were devoted to amusements, though of different kinds; and neither of them cherished their offspring with such tenderness as to desire that they should receive education under their own eyes, or be domesticated beneath the same roof with themselves. In consequence, the younger children were *boarded out* in the families of different noblemen; whilst for the heir apparent a separate establishment was formed, almost immediately on his quitting his nurse, which, by the habitual carelessness of the king, was suffered to become an immoderately expensive one. His principal attendants were, the earl of Mar as governor, and sir David Murray as gentleman of the bedchamber, the latter of whom attended him into England, and never quitted him till his last breath.

At five or six years of age, the prince was placed under the tuition of Adam Newton, a good scholar, who afterwards translated into Latin the king's discourse against Vorstius, and was remunerated for his services, somewhat irregularly for a layman, with the deanery of Durham, and afterwards with a baronetcy.

ronetcy. About the same time James composed his *Basilicon Doron,* nominally for the instruction of his child, but more truly for the purpose of displaying his skill in common places, and uttering to the world his maxims of state.

In the last year of queen Elizabeth, the pope ventured to propose to James, that the education of Henry should be submitted to his direction, in consideration of which he engaged to advance large sums for the purpose of establishing his majesty on the throne of England: to this overture, which will appear extraordinary to those who consider James rather in the light of a protestant polemic than a temporizing politician, a polite negative was returned[a].

No sooner had the little prince arrived in England, than it was judged conducive to the dignity of the royal family to create him a knight of the garter, at nine years of age, and to settle him with a splendid household in one of the royal palaces. His establishment consisted at first of 70 servants; but the king doubled their number the next year, and in 1610 the family of the prince had swelled to the enormous amount of 426 persons, of whom 297 received wages; without reckoning artificers under the management of Inigo Jones, comptroller of the works[b].

Different factions, foreign and domestic, now put themselves in action to gain the ear and heart of the

[a] Birch's *Life of Henry prince of Wales.*

[b] *Archæologia,* xii. 85.

young

young prince, whose qualities appeared likely soon to invest him with personal consequence. Some aimed to inspire him with a taste for military glory; thus colonel Edmonds, a Scotch officer of merit serving in the Low-Countries, being directed to procure for his highness a suit of armour, expressed his hopes that he would follow the footsteps of Edward the black prince, and added, "I shall bring with me also the book of Froissart, who will show your grace how the wars were led in those days; and what just title and right your grace's father has beyond the seas[a]." The queen also, whose catholic and Spanish predilections have been already adverted to, made many attempts to inspire him with similar sentiments; and told him that she hoped one day to see him conquer France like another Henry V. M. Beaumont the French ambassador, in one of his letters, after taking notice of her majesty's immoderate ambition of governing, adds, that "she used all her efforts to corrupt the mind of the prince by flattering his passions, and diverting him from his studies and exercises, representing to him, out of contempt to his father, that learning was inconsistent with the character of a great general and conqueror, and proposing to him a marriage with the infanta of Spain[b]." But as Anne was a foolish without being a fond mother to Henry,—for his brother Charles was the favorite,—her insinuations produced little effect. To learning indeed he does not

[a] Birch's *Life of prince Henry*, p. 43.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 46.

appear

appear to have been greatly addicted; but he remained true to his protestant faith; and the martial spirit thus fostered in him had the effect of rendering him a warm admirer of the character of Henry IV. of France, and by degrees of drawing him strongly within the influence of this distinguished prince and warrior.

The French ambassadors watched with diligence the opening of the prince's mind, and early pointed out to their master the importance of conciliating him. "None of his pleasures," writes M. la Boderie in October 1606, "savour in the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses and what belongs to them; but is not fond of hunting; and when he does engage in it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping than for any which the dogs give him. He is fond of playing at tennis, and at another Scotch diversion very like mall; but always with persons elder than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies two hours in the day, and employs the rest of his time in tossing the pike, or leaping, or shooting with the bow, or throwing the bar, or vaulting, or some other exercise of that kind; and he is never idle. He is very kind to his dependents, supports their interests against all persons whatsoever; and urges all that he undertakes for them or others with such zeal as ensures it success: for, besides his exerting his whole strength to compass what he desires, he is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially by the earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly

greatly apprehensive of the prince's ascendency; as the prince, on the other hand, shows little esteem for his lordship[a]." This is merely the picture of an active, impetuous, aspiring boy; but Henry's character afforded some better indications, among which may be mentioned his patronage of that excellent man and preacher Joseph Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich: having heard two of his sermons, the prince, then in his fourteenth year, appointed him one of his chaplains, and afterwards invited him to reside constantly in his court; but engagements to a former patron, and perhaps an averseness to court-attendance, induced Hall to decline the favor. A strong sense of religion appears to have been early impressed on the mind of Henry; partly, it is probable, by his able and upright governor sir Thomas Chaloner, who lay under some suspicion of puritanism. Not content with exhibiting a pattern of perfect regularity and strict religious observance in his own conduct, his youthful zeal displayed itself by his ordering boxes to be kept at his three houses to receive the penalties on profane swearing, which he ordered to be strictly levied on his household. The notorious culpability of the king his father in this point rendered the contrast striking, and perhaps invidious. To the same effect we have the following fine anecdote; "Once when the prince was hunting the stag, it chanced the stag, being spent, crossed the road where a butcher and his

[a] See Birch, p. 75.

dog were travelling; the dog killed the stag, which was so great that the butcher could not carry him off: when the huntsman and the company came up, they fell at odds with the butcher, and endeavoured to incense the prince against him; to whom the prince soberly answered, 'What if the butcher's dog killed the stag, what could the butcher help it?' They replied, if his father had been served so, he would have sworn so as no man could have endured it. 'Away,' replied the prince, 'all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath[a].'"

Henry's attention was early directed towards naval matters; he frequently visited the dock-yards; took great delight in a model of a ship of war which was constructed for him in 1607, and received Phineas Pett the builder into his especial favor and protection. It appears that he also studied fortification; for he took advantage of the return of the prince de Joinville from his English visit, to send in his train an engineer in his own service, charged to examine all the defences of Calais. In a letter addressed to the prince de Joinville soon after, Henry said that he perceived his cousin during his abode in England had discovered his humor, since he had sent him a present of the two things he loved best,—arms and horses. On another occasion, being asked by the French ambassador if he had any message for his master, he answered, "Tell him what I am now doing;"—tossing the pike.

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[a] Coke's *Detection*, p. 65.

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The genius of sir Walter Raleigh fixed his admiration; he was more than once heard to exclaim, that "no king but his father would keep such a bird in a cage;" and it is suggested that his dislike of the earl of Salisbury sprung from what he had heard of his secret machinations for the destruction of Raleigh. The people are never convinced except by experience that the martial genius of a prince is a curse to his country: in Henry also this genius appears to have been combined with so many principles and impulses truly good and noble, that the subjects of James I. may well be pardoned the excess of their attachment and the fond credulity of their anticipations.

The expected meeting of parliament took place in February 1610, for the king's necessities would admit of no longer delay: he declined however the now unwelcome office of opening the sessions in person, and devolved upon the lord-treasurer the task of apologizing in some manner for his unremitting profusion, and for the abuses which it had produced or fostered, and of prefacing with something like promises of reformation and redress a disclosure of the unprecedented amount of his present wants and future expectations. Salisbury probably did his best; but he seems to have struggled with an invincible consciousness of the badness of his cause, and, if the reports of his speech which have come down to us may be trusted, seldom has so weak a pleading proceeded from so able an advocate. His announcement of the king's intention of creating his eldest

eldest son prince of Wales, was probably heard with satisfaction; but to claim merit for his purpose of doing so during the sitting and with the concurrence of parliament, notwithstanding the examples given by some former princes to the contrary, was certainly unpopular, and perhaps unconstitutional. A general account of the chief heads of extraordinary expenditure followed, with an endeavour to show that all these charges were either absolutely unavoidable, or such as were highly conducive to the praise of the king and the honor of the nation. The minister added, that riches, philosophically considered, were nothing but food and raiment, all beyond was vanity, and but the purer part of earth, the grosser part of water; "a thing unworthy the denial to such a king as is not only the wisest of kings, but the very image of an angel that hath brought good tidings, and settled us in the fruition of all good things. He whose depth of knowledge as well as conscience deserves the title of '*Fidei defensor;*' whose numerous issue makes foreign princes study to keep their own, not look abroad. He that hath shut the back-door of the kingdom and placed two lions, a red and a yellow, to secure it[a]." The orator concluded by demanding on the part of the crown, a supply of 600,000*l.*, and a permanent augmentation of 200,000*l.* per annum, in return for which it was stated, that the king would be ready to listen to representations of grievances, and to treat respect-

[a] Wilson, p. 43.

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ing the commutation of wardship and purveyance for a stated yearly revenue.

On these intimations, memorials and petitions flowed in from all quarters, filled with complaints of malversation and abuse in various departments, and especially in the proceedings of the high commission court: but no redress ensued; nor did better success attend the long-agitated project of the abolition of wardship, on the terms of which the king and parliament could never come to an agreement, owing to exorbitant claims on one side and a marked distrust on the other.

The question of the union, which was revived by a courtly member in some long orations, is said to have been "*whistled down*" in the lower house. Meantime the business of supplies went on slowly and sullenly; members ventured to observe, that it was idle to bestow extraordinary sums of money on a prince who gave away with one hand all that he received with the other; and the existing abundance of gold and silver in Edinburgh was pointedly alluded to. The ill-humour of the house was aggravated by the excessive indiscretion of the king; who openly at his own table expressed his contempt for the common-law of England,—so favorable to the liberty of the subject,—in comparison with the civil law; a declaration of sentiment the more formidable, because a vehement contention had been for some time carried on between these rival judicatures, on the subject of the writs of prohibition by which the courts of common law had been accustomed to exercise

ercise the right of controling the proceedings of the civilians. A quarrel between the high-spirited Coke, now lord-chief-justice, and the king, respecting this affair, is thus related in a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, written in November 1608: "On Sunday, before the king's going to Newmarket,.... my lord Coke and all the judges of the common law were before his majesty, to answer some complaints of the civil lawyers for the general granting of prohibitions. I heard that the lord Coke, amongst other offensive speech, should say to his majesty, that his highness was defended by his laws; at which saying, with other speech then used by the lord Coke, his majesty was very much offended, and told him he spake foolishly, and said, that he was not defended by his laws, but by God; and so gave the lord Coke, in other words, a very sharp reprehension, both for that and other things; and withal told him that sir Thomas Compton (the judge of the admiralty court) was as good a man as Coke[a]."

A book called *The Interpreter*, written by Dr. Cowell a civilian, at the instigation, as was believed, of archbishop Bancroft, and with the king's approbation, carried to a still higher pitch the irritation of the commons, and alarmed them with the apprehension of a systematic design for the introduction of absolute monarchy. The work in question laid down these three principles:—"First, That the king was *solutus a legibus*, not bound by his coro-

[a] *Illustrations*, iii. 364.

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nation oath. Secondly, That it was not *ex necessitate* that the king should call a parliament to make laws, but might do it by his *absolute power*. Thirdly, It was a favor to admit the consent of the subjects in giving subsidies[a]." These monstrous positions were severely animadverted upon in parliament, and steps were also taking for bringing the author to punishment, when the king transferred the business into his own hands by consenting to issue a proclamation for the suppression of the book. But these manifestations of the spirit of parliament were alarming, and the members of both houses were summoned to Whitehall to listen to a "long lecture," in which his majesty flattered himself that he should be able to rectify their ideas on the prerogative of kings and the duties of subjects.

He opened his harangue with a declaration which more resembles the frantic blasphemies of the despots of Nineveh and Babylon than any former address of an English king to an English parliament. "Kings are justly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth: for if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake, at his pleasure; to give life or send death, to judge all, and to be judged nor accountable to none: to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure; and to God both soul and body are due.

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[a] Coke's *Detection*, p. 59.

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And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down; of life and of death; judges over all their subjects and in all causes; and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men at chess; a pawn to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of his subjects." After some further remarks he added, "I conclude then this point, touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity; that as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy; but *quid vult Deus*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss,.... so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the plenitude of his power[a]." The monarch further asserts, that kings were before laws, and that all laws were granted by them as matter of favor to the people.

Yet, in the end, he is pleased somewhat to qualify these lofty pretensions by the admission, that there is a certain kind of distinction between this abstract idea of a monarch, this "king in divinity," as he calls him, and a king of England, who is bound to govern according to the municipal law and the custom of the country,—a rule which he himself has hitherto observed and purposes to observe in future.

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[a] *King James's Works*, pp. 529, 531.

"I will

"I will not be content," he says, "that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws."

The rest of the speech treated of grievances, of his supposed preference of the civil law, and of his desire of a pecuniary supply; on all which heads he subdivided and distinguished, in a manner more fitted to confirm than remove the apprehensions of those members of either house who regarded themselves as the appointed conservators of English laws and liberty. It appears from an allusion in the king's speech, that many of the members took down his words; and we learn from other authority that those of the "more serious sort" were much grieved and offended at the profane parallel which he had dared to draw.

At length the commons voted a supply considerably inferior to the royal demand, and in the month of July parliament was prorogued to the ensuing October.

In this year died sir John Spencer, formerly lord-mayor of London, respecting whom some circumstances have been recorded worthy of notice as illustrative of manners and private life. He was perhaps the richest citizen of his time; but the amount of his wealth cannot be ascertained; it was variously stated at three, five and eight hundred thousand pounds. His opulence however was so noted that one of the pirates of Dunkirk, who during this and the following reign exercised their outrages with impunity on the

the English coasts, had laid a plot for carrying him off to France to extort a ransom; but the design failed. His only child was a prize worthy the notice of a courtier, and she became the wife of William lord Compton, afterwards created earl of Northampton. At the funeral of sir John about one thousand persons followed in mourning cloaks and gowns. The amount of the inheritance seems to have exceeded all the expectations of lord Compton; insomuch that on the first news, "either through the vehement apprehension of joy for such a plentiful succession, or of carefulness how to take it up and dispose of it[a]," he became distracted, and so continued for a considerable length of time. It must probably have been soon after his recovery that his wife addressed to him a letter which may be regarded as the most perfect exposition we possess of the wants and wishes of a lady of quality in the age of James I.

"My sweet life, Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of your state, I suppose that it were best for me to bethink and consider within myself what allowance were meetest for me:..... I pray and beseech you to grant to me, your most kind and loving wife, the sum of 2600*l.* quarterly to be paid. Also I would, besides that allowance, have 600*l.* quarterly to be paid, for the performance of charitable works: and those things I would not, neither will be accountable for. Also, I will have three

[a] Winwood, iii. 136.

horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow: none lend but I, none borrow but you. Also, I would have two gentlewomen, lest one should be sick, or have some other let. Also, believe it, it is an undecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a great estate. Also, when I ride a-hunting, or a-hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending; so, for either of those said women, I must and will have for either of them a horse. Also, I will have six or eight gentlemen; and I will have my two coaches, one lined with velvet to myself, with four very fair horses; and a coach for my women, lined with cloth and laced with gold, otherwise with scarlet and laced with silver, with four good horses. Also, I will have two coachmen, one for my own coach, the other for my women. Also, at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only caroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such carriages as shall be fitting for all, orderly, not pestering my things with my women's, nor theirs with either chambermaids, nor theirs with wash-maids. Also, for laundresses, when I travel, I will have them sent away before with the carriages, to see all safe. And the chambermaids I will have go before, that the chamber may be ready, sweet and clean. Also, for that it is undecent to crowd up myself with my gentleman-usher in my coach, I will have him to have a convenient horse to attend me, either in city or country. And I must have two footmen. And my desire

desire is, that you defray all the charges for me. And for myself, besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six other of them very excellent good ones. Also, I would have to put in my purse 2000*l.*, and 200*l.*, and so, you to pay my debts. Also, I would have 6000*l.* to buy me jewels, and 4000*l.* to buy me a pearl chain. Now, seeing I have been, and am, so reasonable unto you, I pray you do find my children apparel, and their schooling, and all my servants, men and women, their wages. Also, I will have all my houses furnished, and my lodging chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit; as beds, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, carpets, silver warming-pans, cupboards of plate, fair hangings and such like. So for my drawing chamber in all houses, I will have them delicately furnished, both with hangings, couch, canopy, glass, carpet, chairs, cushions, and all things thereunto belonging. Also, my desire is, that you would pay your debts, build up Ashby-house and purchase lands, and lend no money, as you love God, to my lord-chamberlain, who would have all, perhaps your life, from you..... So, now that I have declared to you what I would have, and what it is that I would not have, I pray you, when you be an earl, to allow me 2000*l.* more than I now desire, and double attendance[a]."

The creation of the prince of Wales, performed

[a] Harleian MSS., No. 7003, fol. 105.

with pomp and ceremony scarcely inferior to a coronation, occupied the court in the summer of 1610. On May the 30th the prince was met at Chelsea, on his way from Richmond to Whitehall, by the lord-mayor and corporation of London; attended by Neptune riding on a dolphin and a sea-goddess on a whale, who greeted him with appropriate speeches; on his landing at Whitehall-stairs the officers of the royal household received and conducted him to the king and queen in the privy-chamber. The following Sunday, five-and-twenty knights of the bath were made, and the next day the king proceeded to the creation, in a great hall of the old palace at Westminster, in presence of both houses of parliament, of the lord-mayor and aldermen and of several foreign ambassadors. After all had taken their places, the prince entered, in a surcoat of purple velvet close girt, and kneeled on the highest step of the throne: he was preceded by the lord-chamberlain and earl-marshal, after whom followed the knights of the bath, then garter king at arms bearing the patent, and lastly several noblemen bearing the robes, the train, the sword, the ring, the rod, and the cap and crown; with all of which he was invested during the reading of the patent by the earl of Salisbury. The prince then with a low reverence offering to depart, the king stepped to him, took him by the hand, kissed him and placed him in the seat on his left hand. Afterwards, the prince dined in state, being served at table by noblemen with all the ceremony ever observed towards the king

king himself. It is probable that no prince of Wales had ever been invested with equal solemnity, and the circumstance deserves to be recorded as a partial refutation of the cruel charges brought against James I. in the character of a parent. It is certain, that up to this period at least, no traces of jealousy are to be discerned in the public conduct of the king towards his heir, popular and aspiring as he was.

On the next day this public act was celebrated by the queen and her ladies by the performance of one of the most poetical of the masks of Jonson; —that entitled The Queens. By way of prologue, the young duke of York appeared, attended by two servants of Neptune and by twelve young handmaids, all children of high rank, who danced around him in a fairy ring; one of the sea-slaves, as they were called, explaining the design of the mask, the other delivering to the duke a splendid sword, to be presented to his brother as the gift of one of the queens. Next came an antimask, or burlesque representation, allusive to the principal action: this consisted of the songs, charms and dances of witches, and embodied in a highly impressive form all the "thrilling lore" with which the extensive reading of the author had supplied him on the awful subject, as it then appeared, of spells and sorcery. This performance so strongly excited the youthful imagination of prince Henry, that he requested Jonson, in printing the piece, to affix notes pointing out the exact sources whence his witcheries had been derived. The mask exhibited twelve ladies seated on a throne

a throne in the form of a pyramid, eleven of whom were explained to represent the same number of heroical queens of different ages and countries; the twelfth was the queen of Great Britain *in propria persona*, whom the poet had distinguished by the name of Belanna, and who was unanimously elected by the other royal ladies to form the apex of their pyramid, as uniting in her single person all the virtues with which each of them was separately adorned!

The third and last day dedicated to the honor of the prince of Wales, was distinguished by a splendid tilting; a kind of exercise exceedingly to the taste of Henry, whose thoughts were always running upon military glory, and at whose name Jonson had poetically represented the goddess of Chivalry as starting from a lethargic slumber. The noblemen and gentlemen who appeared in the lists glittered in gilded and inlaid armour; and gold, silver, fine embroidery, and even gems and pearls, enriched their habiliments and the trappings of their horses. The earl of Pembroke displayed two caparisons of peach coloured velvet, "and yet," says a spectator, "the lord Walden carried away the reputation of *bravery* (richness of decoration) for that day." The evening closed with a naval fight, and an attack by ships of war upon a castle built in the water opposite to the court, from which fire-works were also exhibited[a].

[a] Compare Birch's *Prince Henry;* Winwood, vol. iii.; Ben Jonson's *Works.*

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The assassination of Henry IV. of France on May 14, 1610, gave a shock to the whole English nation, and especially to prince Henry, who appears to have projected a closer alliance with this martial sovereign. The instigators of Ravaillac were never publicly known, but the jesuits incurred violent suspicion, and the house of commons eagerly improved the opportunity to urge a fresh expulsion of all the individuals of that order from England, and a revival of the severities against recusants. The oath of allegiance was at the same time more rigorously imposed, and several persons are recorded to have suffered capitally for their refusal of this test. One of these was Roger Cadwallader, an ecclesiastic much respected in his communion for zeal and learning, which rendered him unusually successful as a missionary. The remarkable feature in his case is, that he was one of the priests who, in the last year of Elizabeth, signed a protestation of allegiance which was condemned at Rome as derogatory to the claims of the sovereign pontiff; yet he now steadily refused to save his life by taking an oath of the same import to her successor; so effectually had the papal prohibitions overruled all private judgement on this point, even amongst the most moderate and peaceably disposed of the Romish clergy. Herefordshire had been the principal scēne of Cadwallader's labors, and his pastoral journeys were taken on foot; he appears to have been personally obnoxious to Bennet bishop of Hereford, who had long watched for his destruction. After his condemnation he was treated with

with much cruelty and contumely in the prison; but he went forth to meet his death with a firmness, and displayed in his last moments a piety, which strongly moved the hearts of all the spectators[a]. Drury, another of the subscribers of the protestation of allegiance, had previously undergone the penalties of high treason under similar circumstances.

About this time, church and state were finally delivered from an active and mischievous enemy by the death of Parsons the jesuit:—a name too celebrated in the controversial and political history of his age to be dismissed in silence.

Robert Parsons was born at Nether Stowey in Somersetshire; the vicar of the parish, previously a canon-regular, took charge of his education and sent him to Baliol college, Oxford, where his general abilities, and especially his keenness as a disputant, and his satirical talents, soon raised him into repute, but procured him many enemies. He obtained a fellowship in 1572 and became a noted tutor; but in less than two years he resigned his situation, and quitting England repaired to Lovain. The motives of this abrupt departure are variously reported; the protestants affirm that the detection of some peculations of which he had been guilty as bursar of his college, rendered his retreat expedient; the catholics ascribe it solely to his discontent with the established religion of his country. From Lovain Parsons proceeded to Padua, and devoted himself for a

[a] Dodd's *Church History*, iii. 367.

time

time to the study of medicine, adding that of civil law; but on a journey which he made to Rome, he was induced to enter among the jesuits.

At the end of five years, Dr., afterwards cardinal Allen, who had at this time the direction of the English mission, being persuaded that the jesuits would prove the most diligent and successful laborers in that vineyard, prevailed on the general of the order to try the experiment; and Parsons and Campion were sent thither accordingly in the year 1580. Scarcely however had they opened their commission when Walsingham discovered them, and orders were issued for their apprehension. Campion was seized, tried, and put to death; his companion with difficulty effected his escape and fled into France. Parsons appears to have been entirely exempt from those longings after martyrdom with which the more enthusiastic members of his society were at this period affected; and after so intelligible a warning he was perfectly contented to believe that providence had destined him to a less perilous field of action. Accordingly, he settled himself in Normandy, and opened a grammar-school for the instruction of English youths previously to their entrance into the colleges founded for their reception at Rheims and at Rome. But this scheme failing, he quitted France, and repairing to Rome was nominated in 1587 rector of the English college, which situation he held till his death. Previously to receiving this appointment, he had exercised a pen of no ordinary vigor in several controversial works relative to the proceedings of

of the English government against catholics, and in a piece of devotion entitled the "Christian directory," which proved extremely popular, and was read and praised even by protestants. He had also composed that virulent invective called "Leicester's commonwealth," one of the most efficient libels on record, since, notwithstanding its malice and evident exaggeration, it has been held to contain truths sufficient to blast the reputation of that hated favorite to all posterity. The talents of father Parsons for political affairs, or intrigue, were not less conspicuous than his powers as a writer. "The superiority of his genius, and the natural turn he had for business," says a catholic historian, "gave him a place among the great men of his age; his thoughts were penetrating, and his judgement solid and well-regulated: and, which are two necessary qualifications in a projector, he was calm upon consultations and patient under disappointments[a]." To these qualities he added a good address, a talent for conversation, which served to counteract the unfavorable impression of a harsh and forbidding countenance; great exactness in the performance of his priestly functions, and, in a certain sense of the words, irreproachable morals. But his violent love of power, and the contentiousness of his spirit, involved him in perpetual disputes, and made him almost as many enemies amongst catholics as protestants.

He took several journeys into Spain; and, becom-

[a] Dodd, ii. 404.

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ing a pensioner of the king, composed for his service the famous piece which appeared under the title of "Doleman's conference;" asserting the right of the people to depose sovereigns for tyranny and especially for heresy, and the title of the infanta to the English crown. It was entirely consistent with the principles of this work, that the author should cooperate in all the projects of the Spanish court for the conquest of his native country and the destruction of the protestant princess who occupied its throne; and on these points he appears to have entertained no scruples. On the other hand, he employed all his credit at the Spanish court for the relief of English exiles and for the establishment of places of education for catholic youth. By his sole influence, colleges were founded for the English at Valladolid, Seville, Madrid and St. Omers, and supported by the liberal donations which he had the art of extracting from opulent persons of both sexes. In these seminaries, the political creed of their founder was inculcated with no less diligence than his religious system; much to the offence of the more moderate and respectable portion of the English catholics, who held sacred the obligations of patriotism and loyalty, and who justly apprehended that the offences of a faction would be severely visited on their whole body. The secular priests also accused father Parsons of unwarrantable attempts upon their liberties, both in the colleges and in the missions, which were exposed by some of their number in angry appeals to the public. But the credit of this

jesuit

jesuit remained unshaken at Madrid; and the violent part which he took against the oath of allegiance was an additional merit in the eyes of the sovereign pontiff. The colleges and the English mission were in effect subjected to his sole management and control; and to the latest day of his existence it does not appear that his principles underwent the slightest modification, or that repeated disappointments had extinguished his hope of witnessing the complete restoration of the Roman catholic religion in England. It is somewhat remarkable, that the political influence of Parsons did not recommend him to ecclesiastical preferment: his friends indeed spoke of the cardinalate; but there was apparently no prospect whatever of his attaining this dignity, and he died in possession of no higher office than that of rector of a college at Rome; an indication of some disesteem of the man even in the powerful sovereigns who made use of his efforts. None of them, in fact, could forget that he was a traitor and archrebel to his king and country.

In November 1610 died Richard Bancroft archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of the university of Oxford; the first promulgator of the doctrine of the divine right of bishops; the most strenuous protestant assertor of the interests and immunities of his order; the great champion of church discipline, and the most dreaded scourge of the puritans. Clarendon pronounces that he "understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued

subdued the unruly spirit of the nonconformists, by, and after, the conference at Hampton-court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva[a]." Wilson, on the contrary, calls him "a person severe enough, whose roughness gained little upon those who deserted the ceremonies." His doctrine and his practice, as head of the high-commission court, were extremely acceptable to king James, who, regarding as he did the puritans as a rebellious, republican faction, desired to see them crushed by the strong hand of power. In order to the more effectual accomplishment of this object, Bancroft devised a project for depriving the objects of his hostility of the protection which the courts of common law had the power of affording them by issuing writs of prohibition against proceedings of the civil or spiritual courts; and, in the name of the clergy of England, he presented to the king and council 25 articles, called *articuli cleri*, in which he desired that the granting of prohibitions might be restrained. The king was much disposed to gratify the archbishop in this matter; but the twelve judges being consulted gave unanimously so strong an opinion against this unheard-of exertion of prerogative, that the king was overawed and the design was dropped.

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[a] *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. part i. p. 88.

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The archbishop exhibited his articles a second time three or four years afterwards, but with no better success, and it was by the strong expression of his sentiments on this occasion that Coke incurred the displeasure of James in the manner already mentioned.

To the surprise and disappointment of the partisans and eulogists of archbishop Bancroft, the king nominated for his successor Dr. George Abbot, bishop of London, a divine whose calvinistical principles seemed likely to inspire him with sentiments of indulgence for the puritans utterly incompatible with the zealous enforcement of conformity. But James rewarded in the preferment of Abbot services not less important in his estimation than the boldest efforts of his predecessor. Abbot was educated at Oxford, and, pursuing afterwards an academical life, became in due time master of University college, dean of Winchester, and vice-chancellor; he was likewise chaplain to the earl of Dorset, chancellor of that university. On the death of this patron, he attached himself in the same capacity to sir George Hume earl of Dunbar and treasurer of Scotland, that corrupt and subservient minister through whom James proposed to carry into effect his long formed plot against the ecclesiastical constitution of his native country, where it was now his pleasure to establish an episcopacy and a high commission, entirely upon the English model. For this purpose Dunbar visited Edinburgh in 1608, armed with those formidable means of intimidation which his sovereign

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was now enabled to command; and furnished with arguments of a different nature in a sum of 40,000 marks, which was distributed amongst the leaders of the Scotch church, and was probably the source of that unusual abundance of the precious metals in the city of Edinburgh, indignantly noticed in the English parliament. Abbot attended the treasurer on this journey; and, besides the services which he is said to have rendered in conciliating some of the opponents of episcopacy, was fortunate and adroit enough to find and improve an occasion of gratifying his sovereign in another matter, to which he attached extreme importance.

During the visit of Dunbar to Edinburgh, one Sprot, a notary, was reported to have dropped words which implied his knowledge of some particulars relative to the much agitated Gowrie plot: Dunbar, eager for such a discovery, caused him to be immediately apprehended, and repeatedly examined before the privy-council. For above two months he persisted either in a total denial of the fact, or in statements to which no credit could be attached; at length however he mentioned certain letters between Gowrie and one Logan, his accomplice, which he said he had seen and transcribed, and which proved the existence of a plot against the person of the king. On this evidence a posthumous sentence of high treason was passed upon Logan; and Sprot himself, for the concealment of the treason at the time when it first came to his knowledge, suffered the unmitigated penalty of the same offence. Spotswood, afterwards

terwards archbishop, who was present at these proceedings, and whose party attachments would naturally incline him to listen with favor to any evidence of the reality of the Gowrie conspiracy, speaks thus of this affair: "Whether or not I should mention the arraignment and execution of George Sprot, who suffered at Edinburgh, I am doubtful. His confession, though voluntary and constant, carrying small probability.....It seemed to be a very fiction, and a mere invention of the man's own brain; for neither did he show the letter, nor could any wise man think that Gowrie, who went about the treason so secretly, would have communicated the matter to such a man as Logan was known to be[a]."

With Dunbar however and the courtiers, this evidence passed for triumphant demonstration of all that was before dubious; and it afforded a fresh occasion of humiliating the presbyterians, who had avowed their disbelief with so much boldness and pertinacity. A circumstantial narrative of the whole affair was immediately published, and Abbot introduced it by a long preface abounding in that gross and solemn adulation characteristic of the clerical eulogists of James I. Soon after his return, this divine was consecrated to the see of Litchfield and Coventry; translated to London at the end of a month, and enthroned at Lambeth in little more than a year.

The dispatches of sir Ralph Winwood from Holland, during the summer of 1610, furnish some not uninteresting notices of men and things. In one of

[a] See Robertson's *Scotland*, p. 476, edit. 1791.

them

them he announces that Baldwyn the jesuit, a dangerous intriguer who had been in the secret of the powder-plot, passing in disguise through the Palatinate, had been discovered and apprehended, and that the elector had sent word that he was ready to deliver him into such hands as sir Ralph should appoint. He had accordingly sent two captains to receive the prisoner, and hoped to ship him for England without delay: important papers had been found on him, some of which he had attempted to destroy. In a subsequent letter he informs the earl of Salisbury, that just as Baldwyn was about to be put into a carriage for conveyance to Wesel, he had received intelligence from the governor of this town, that express messengers from Brussels, Rhinberg, and other places, had been stationed there for above a week, to carry instant information of the jesuit's arrival: and that the archduke's garrison of Rhinberg had orders to march out "for his rescue and relief." This intimation had obliged him to defer Baldwyn's removal till the army should return into Holland. An additional instance of the scandalous protection afforded by the Spanish party to the powder-treason! By good management, however, the jesuit was at length safely lodged in the Tower, where he remained several years a state prisoner.

In a letter of Winwood's to the earl of Salisbury from Dusseldorp, is the following paragraph: "That sir Edward Herbert (will they nill they) hath forced a quarrel, since my coming from the army, first upon my lord Walden, after upon sir Thomas Somer-

set, your lordship may understand by these gentlemen, who were then present: wherein he hath offered an irreparable injury to my lord-general, who hath treated him, as he hath done them all, with an exceeding love and kindness."

This characteristic anecdote may serve to introduce one of the most singular personages of his age, known to posterity as lord Herbert of Chirbury. He was the eldest son of sir Richard Herbert, a gentleman of family and fortune, the possessor of Montgomery castle, and was born in 1581. At the age of 15 he was married to an heiress of his own name and blood, who was six years older than himself; the lady's father having absurdly bequeathed his estates to his daughter on the express condition that she should marry a Herbert, and Edward being the only one of the race of an age and condition to pretend to her. After tying the indissoluble knot, the boy-bridegroom, accompanied by his wife and mother, returned to his studies at Oxford. Having completed his education, he went up to London; and in his own memoirs he has thus related his introduction to the queen: "Not long after this, curiosity rather than ambition brought me to court; and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the presence-chamber when she passed by to the chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me, she stopped, and, swearing her usual oath, demanded, Who is this? Every body there present looked upon me; but no man

man knew me, till sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's daughter: the queen looked attentively upon me, and, swearing again her ordinary oath, said, "It is pity he was married so young:" and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek[a]."

At James's coronation he was made a knight of the bath; and his romantic imagination catching fire at the fantastic rites of chivalry employed on this occasion, and especially at a certain clause in the oath of knighthood by which he was bound to redress the wrongs of all "ladies and gentlewomen," he henceforth accounted himself the sworn champion of the sex; and never was cavalier more prompt to quarrel in their behalf. He challenged a Scotchman who had taken a riband from a maid of honor; a Welsh captain whom he "conceived to have offered some injury" to his sister; and another person who had offended his cousin: and he once defied a French gentleman to mortal combat if he should dare to deny that it was he who had compelled him to restore a top-knot snatched from a fair lady, ten years of age, grandaughter of the constable de Montmorenci. Neither was he less jealous in honor on his own account: he has given us the history of five or six of his offers of combat, including those mentioned by Winwood; but it is an extraordinary circumstance,

[a] *The life of Edward lord Herbert*, p. 53.

that not one of these adventures ends in a duel; though in no age were duels more frequent or more fatal. Some good offices of friends, some interposition of the privy-council, or some strange failure of resolution on the part of his adversary, always occurs; and the good-natured reader is spared the recital of wounds and slaughter.

It was in the year 1608 that sir Edward, weary of the restraints of the conjugal life into which he had so prematurely entered, weary even of literary pursuits, to which, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his temperament, he had devoted himself with constancy and success, left his wife in some discontent, and set out on a tour in France. His life affords an amusing account of his adventures at the French court, amongst which he takes care to commemorate the very extraordinary civilities shown him by the queen, in placing him next her chair, "not without the wonder of some and the envy of another:" he also describes a residence of some months at a country seat of the constable de Montmorenci, where he employed himself in learning "to ride the great horse," and in hunting wolves; and further signalized his courage in single combat against a wild boar.

On his return, he was favorably received by James, and still more so by his queen, to whom he had been charged to present a scarf from the princess of Conti, and who, after this introduction, asked him many questions respecting the French court, and commanded him to wait on her frequently. He

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soon however retired from court to his family and his studies; but the war respecting the succession to the duchy of Cleves, in which most of the potentates of Europe took part, tempted him again from his retreat, and in 1610 he joined as a volunteer the English troops under sir Edward Cecil, who were acting as auxiliaries to the prince of Orange in the siege of Juliers. A French army was employed on the same service; and one of the officers, named Balagny, a famous duellist and warrior, having challenged Herbert to a trial of daring, they leaped together, sword in hand, out of the trenches, and ran towards the opposite bulwark amid a shower of bullets, from which our knight informs us that he was the last to retire: both however escaped unhurt, and sir Edward was afterwards the first to pass the ditch before the wall of Juliers. After the capture of the town, the army broke up and he returned to England. "And now," adds our hero, "if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city, many of the greatest desiring my company, though yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. Richard earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset-house, where, bringing me into his gallery and showing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffeta, and asked me who I thought was there, and therewithal presently drawing the curtain, showed me my own picture; whereupon, demanding how his

lordship

lordship came to have it, he answered that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a picture, which one Larking a painter drew for me.... But not only the earl of Dorset, but a greater person than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larking, and, placing it afterwards in her cabinet, (without that ever I knew such a thing was done,) gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished[a]." This greater person was undoubtedly the queen; to whom also the following very remarkable passage must refer: "And now in court a great person sent for me divers times to attend her; which summons though I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declined coming to her as much as conveniently I could, without incurring her displeasure: and this I did, not only for very honest reasons, but, to speak ingeniously, because that affection passed between me and another lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing could divert it[b]."

The adventurous disposition of Herbert carried him abroad again in the year 1614; when he entered into the service of the prince of Orange. Two years after he was sent ambassador to France; where he printed for the instruction of philosophical readers his celebrated book "*De Veritate*," a system of natural religion; his life and history of Henry VIII., composed under the correction of king James, was

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[a] *Life of lord Herbert*, p. 84.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 86.

a posthu-

a posthumous work, and his amusing autobiography was discovered and printed in our own times[a].

Parliament reassembled in October, when the king hoped that the lower house would be found in a more tractable disposition respecting money matters than it had exhibited in the last session; and that the large supplies which he demanded would at length be granted, without redress of grievances or the surrender of any portion of his cherished prerogative. But his expectations were deceived: the arrogant language which he had ventured to hold to the two houses, had roused a jealousy which could not so soon be laid; and the permission which he had given to the commons to treat with the lord-treasurer for the abolition of wardship, and the exactions connected with it, had inspired them with the resolution of voting no money without an equivalent in privileges. James recurred to his favorite expedient, a conference, the remarkable particulars of which are thus related in a letter to Winwood: "About fifteen days since,.... his majesty called thirty of the parliament house before him at Whitehall, among whom was sir H. Neville: where his majesty said, the cause of sending for them was to ask of them some questions, whereunto he desired they would make a direct answer. The first was, Whether they thought he was in want, according as his treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer had informed them. Whereto when sir Francis Bacon had begun to answer in a more extravagant style than his majesty did delight

[a] By Horace earl of Orford.

to

to hear, he picked out sir Henry Neville, commanding him to answer according to his conscience. Thereupon sir Henry Neville did directly answer to the first; that he thought indeed his majesty was in want, and that according to the relation of his council. 'Then,' said the king, 'tell me whether it belongeth to you that are my subjects to relieve me, or not?' 'To this,' quoth sir Harry, 'I must answer with a distinction; where your majesty's expense groweth by the commonwealth we are bound to maintain it: otherwise, not.' And so, continuing his speech, he gave a note, that in this one parliament they had already given four subsidies and seven fifteenths; which is more than ever was given by any parliament, at any time, upon any occasion; and yet withal they had no relief of their grievances. Then was his majesty instant to have him declare what their grievances were. 'To all their grievances,' said sir Harry, 'I am not privy, but of those that have come to my knowledge I will make recital;' and so began to say, that in matter of justice they could not have an equal proceeding (aiming perhaps at his majesty's prerogative, *nullum tempus occurret regi*); and then falling upon the jurisdiction of the marches of Wales, sir Herbert Croft took the word out of his mouth; otherwise, it was thought sir Henry, being charged upon his conscience, would have delivered his judgement upon all, in what respect soever it might be taken[a]."

[a] Winwood, iii. 235.

After

After this rebuff, James had recourse to a short prorogation, that *his party* might "deal every one with his friend and acquaintance in the house to work them to some better reason[b]:" but it should seem that all was ineffectual, and the king dissolved in anger this his first parliament, which had been sitting for seven years.

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[b] Winwood, iii. 235.

CHAPTER XII.

1611, 1612.

Adventures of lady Arabella Stuart.—Affair of Vorstius.—Burning of Legate and Wightman for heresy.—Arbitrary modes of raising money.—Institution of baronets.—Proclamation against resort of Scotchmen to court.—National animosity.—Quarrel between Ramsey and Montgomery.—Other quarrels.—Execution of lord Sanquar.—Death and character of the earl of Salisbury,—his letters to his son.—Royal marriages proposed.—Arrival of the elector Palatine.—Death of prince Henry.—Rumors on this subject.—Proof of his not being poisoned.—His funeral sermon by Hall.—University poems to his honor by various poets.—Account of Donne.—Extracts from his letters.

A CIRCUMSTANCE perfectly insignificant to all but the unfortunate parties whose happiness it involved, was able to disturb for a moment the uneventful tranquillity of this period of the reign of James. The nearness of lady Arabella Stuart to the English throne, subjected her to the obligation of forming no matrimonial connexion without the concurrence of the king; and a very weak and unworthy jealousy appears to have inspired James, as well as his predecessor, with the resolution of keeping her single. Against this species of tyranny she was much disposed to rebel; and, undeterred by a censure which had been passed on her a short time previously for listening to a clandestine proposal, she

she ventured to receive similar overtures from William Seymour, second son of lord Beauchamp and grandson of the earl of Hertford; on discovery of which, in February 1610, both parties were summoned before the privy-council and reprimanded. They proceeded notwithstanding to complete their marriage; which becoming matter of notoriety, the lady was committed to private custody and her husband to the Tower. But the unfortunate pair continued to hold intercourse by means of confidential agents, and in June 1611 they concerted measures for their joint escape. Mr. Seymour, having disguised himself in mean apparel, walked unobserved out of the Tower behind a cart which had brought him billets, and made the best of his way to Lee, a small port in Kent, where he expected to find a French vessel in waiting. His lady in the meantime, who was detained at a gentleman's house near Highgate, whence she was the next day to begin her journey for Durham, contrived to lull the vigilance of her keepers by a pretended resignation to her doom, and probably by other methods. Then, "disguising herself by drawing a great pair of French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, walked forth, between three and four of the clock, with Markham. After they had gone afoot a mile and a half to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with horses, she grew very sick and faint, so as the ostler

that

that held the stirrup said, that the gentleman would hardly hold out to London; yet, being set on a good gelding, astride in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face, and so she rid on towards Blackwall[a]." Here she found some attendants in two boats waiting for her, and they rowed down the river to Lee, where the French vessel received them. Her attendants dissuaded her from waiting for Mr. Seymour; who had not yet arrived, and they put off; but lingering afterwards in the channel, in hopes of his reaching them, they were overtaken by a pinnace sent in pursuit, and after standing several shot were compelled to strike. The unfortunate lady was immediately conveyed to the Tower, not so much lamenting her own captivity, as rejoicing in the hope that her beloved husband would effect his escape; whose welfare, she said, was far dearer to her than her own. In this affectionate hope she was not disappointed; Mr. Seymour, on finding that her bark had sailed without him, had rowed off to a collier lying in the roads, by which he was safely landed in Calais harbour.

The first news of the lady Arabella's escape produced much confusion and alarm in the privy-council; it was apprehended that the fugitives were bound for Brabant, there to make themselves the heads of the Roman catholic faction. "In this passionate hurry," writes Mr. Beaulieu, "here was a procla-

[a] Winwood, iii. 270.

mation

mation first conceived in very bitter terms, but by my lord-treasurer's moderation seasoned at the print. . . . . There are likewise three letters dispatched in haste, ... to the king and queen regent of France and to the archdukes, all written with harsher ink than now, if they were to do, I presume they should be, especially that to the archdukes, which did seem to pre-suppose their course tending that way; and all three describing the offence in black colors, and pressing their sending back without delay[a]."

The ill-fated Arabella never recovered her liberty; she became distracted with the sense of her hopeless misery, and in that state died within the Tower in 1615. Her aunt the countess of Shrewsbury was summoned before the privy-council on suspicion of having concurred both in the marriage and the escape: she was a high-spirited woman, and, on being urged with interrogatories, declared that she would answer nothing privately; if she had offended the laws, she was ready to stand her trial. For this contempt, as it was then called, she was committed to the Tower, and at the end of two years dismissed without further proceedings.

The theological zeal by which James was so early distinguished, had by no means forsaken him amid the cares of empire and the sports of the field, which divided his more mature attention. One day, whilst on a hunting progress, a Latin book was brought to him treating on the nature and attributes of the

[a] Winwood, iii. 288.

deity,

deity, and, suspending his amusement, he sat down in earnest to the perusal. Such was his diligence in the task, that in the space of an hour he had collected a copious list of the heresies contained in this performance. The author was Conrad Vorstius, on whom the states of Holland had just conferred the professorship of divinity at Leyden, vacant by the death of Arminius, whose leading doctrines were held by Vorstius. James, vehemently alarmed at the encouragement thus afforded by his allies to dogmas which he regarded as pernicious and abominable, wrote instantly to Winwood, commanding him to signify to the States his detestation of these heresies, and of all by whom they should be tolerated. So extraordinary an interference astonished the Dutch authorities, and they coolly replied, that if Vorstius should be found guilty of the errors imputed to him, he should not retain his office: an answer which fell so far short of the vigorous results anticipated by the sceptred polemic, that he judged it necessary, after causing the book to be publicly burned in London, and in both the English universities, to address to his allies such an admonition as should leave them in no uncertainty respecting the course which it became them to pursue. "If peradventure," says the king, "this wretched Vorstius should deny or equivocate upon those blasphemous points of heresy and atheism which already he hath broached, that perhaps may move you to spare his person, and not cause him to be burned (which never any heretic better deserved, and wherein we will

will leave him to your own Christian wisdom). But to suffer him, upon any defence or abnegation which he shall offer to make, still to continue and to teach amongst you, is a thing so abominable, as we assure ourselves it will not once enter into any of your thoughts." Afterwards, with his usual propensity to arrogate authority to himself on frivolous or sophistical pretences, he declares, that should they suffer "such pestilent heretics to nestle amongst" them, he shall be constrained, "*as defender of the faith,*" not only to separate himself from such false churches, but to exhort all other reformed churches to join with him "in a common counsel how to extinguish and remand to hell these abominable heresies."

Winwood was strictly enjoined to support this royal mandate by vigorous protestations, and even by menaces of a warlike sound; and, his own temper and manners being stern and rugged, he pursued the cause with such keenness as to lay himself open to the charge, from certain privy-councillors, of having exceeded his instructions. Archbishop Abbot, animated by a vehement zeal for the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and by the hope that the destruction of the Arminian party in Holland would serve as a precedent for the extinction of a similar sect at home, which had begun to excite his jealousy, urged Winwood to perseverance, and great efforts were also made by the Gomarist party in Holland. Still the States held firm to their decision, and positively refused the dismissal of Vorstius till he should have

have been fairly heard in his own defence; individuals were also found hardy enough to stigmatize the interference of his Britannic majesty as an unwarrantable intrusion; and the monarch found it expedient, in the conclusion of a tract which he published against Vorstius, to descend considerably from the loftiness of his former language.

It is very unlikely, he observes, that he should have any thought of practising against the tranquility of his good friends the States, on so poor a cause as this; much more of proposing by it the advancement of any designs of his own: having discharged his conscience in this matter, he now refers the whole management of it to those to whom it belongs; and for the author himself, the worst that he wishes him is, "that he may sincerely return into the high beaten pathway of the catholic and orthodoxal faith." But the importunity of James and of the Gomarists became at length effectual; Vorstius was expelled with disgrace from the seat of learning to which he had been invited with every mark of public respect; he was driven to wander about from place to place, and to shrowd himself in obscurity from the furious pursuit of his implacable enemies; and he died just as he had at length attained an honorable and hospitable asylum. It may be added, that this persecuted teacher was a man of unblemished morals, fervent piety and distinguished learning; and that no theologian of his day appears to have applied so much of philosophical criticism to the argumentations of divines and schoolmen, to have asserted the right of private judgement

judgement with equal force of reasoning, or to have preserved in controversy a greater share of equanimity and candor[a].

An opportunity soon after occurred to James of enforcing by the aid of example those precepts which he had submitted to the "Christian wisdom" of his Dutch confederates. One Bartholomew Legate, being detected in the act of disseminating Arian heresies in London, was apprehended, and the king himself, aided by several bishops, was pleased to hold conference with him, in the expectation of convincing him of his errors; but, on extracting from the heretic an avowal that he had not prayed to Christ for seven years, his majesty in horror spurned at him with his foot, and he was committed to Newgate. Here he lay a considerable time without giving any signs of recantation; after which he was convened before the consistory court, and, being declared a contumacious and obdurate heretic, was duly delivered over to the civil arm. James had the glorious satisfaction of signing the writ "*de hæretico comburendo,*" and Legate was in consequence committed to the flames in Smithfield on March 18, 1612. Dr. Neile, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, a prelate distinguished by the peculiar obsequiousness of his loyalty, followed with eagerness so edifying a precedent, and about a month afterwards was successful in bringing to the fire one

[a] See *King James's Works.*—Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. Vorstius.

Edward Wightman, charged with entertaining the errors of ten hæresiarchs, among whom were enumerated Cerinthus, Manichæus, Simon Magus, and the Anabaptists. A third victim was prepared: but the lawyers had started several objections to the legality of the proceedings, and it was discovered that such examples, however salutary in themselves, were no longer adapted to the state of public sentiment in England. A dangerous compassion was excited by the constancy of sufferers, who refused, even at the stake, to save themselves by a recantation; and, on the whole, it was judged preferable in future to suffer such culprits to moulder away in solitary dungeons removed from the sight and sympathy of every fellow-creature. King James was the last sovereign of this country by whom Smithfield fires were lighted[a].

Meantime, the prodigality of the king and the luxury of the court kept their usual course. The queen's debts were great and urgent; even the large income of the prince of Wales was found inadequate to the rapacity of the unprincipled crew who had forced themselves into his service; and the revenues of the monarch himself were swallowed up by the ceaseless demands of his minion Carr, now created viscount Rochester and a privy-councillor, and by the multitudes of Scotchmen who were continually arriving to share the spoils of their unresisting sovereign. The treasury was totally exhausted;

[a] Fuller's *Church History*, b. x. p. 62.

and

and during the long interval in which James did not judge it expedient to convoke a parliament, new and irregular modes of levying money were again recurred to, which strongly mark the spirit of the government as well as the necessities of the prince. The creditors of the queen were satisfied with privy-seals,—arbitrary mandates addressed to individuals, by which they were required to lend, with little prospect of repayment, specific sums for the public service.

The prince was strongly urged to petition the king for a grant of all penalties due from Roman catholics, on condition of his paying into the treasury an annual rent exceeding by 1000*l.* the profits previously accruing to his majesty from this source, which were estimated at 6000*l.* annually. It is a considerable derogation from the character of Henry, that his mind did not instinctively revolt from an undertaking in its own nature invidious, which would have compelled him to keep in his pay a troop of spies and informers of the worst kind, and must have drawn upon himself individually all the obloquy of a more rigid enforcement of a system of laws which, however they might be palliated by political necessity, were certainly open to the charge of rendering the most peaceful indulgence of conscience a crime. But the prince without scruple suffered estimates to be made, and reasons for and against the project to be drawn up by his legal advisers, and seems only to have dropped it from the intervention of some insuperable obstacles, probably connected

with lord Coke's declaration a short time before, of the illegality of all grants of penal forfeitures[a].

Amongst the ways and means resorted to by the king, are to be mentioned the revival of an obsolete law compelling all persons possessed of 40*l.* a year in land to compound for not receiving the order of knighthood; and the introduction of the dignity of baronet, which was offered for the sum of 1000*l.* to any person who thought fit to become a purchaser. Salisbury is said by some to have been the author of this latter device, though it more probably originated with sir Robert Cotton: he was however accounted a promoter of it; for, when the king hesitated, from the fear of offending the gentry by creating a new rank above them, the minister is said to have replied; "Tush, sir! the money will do you good, and the honor will do them very little." It was indeed barely and simply a patent of precedency above knights and esquires, and, being made attainable by money and money only, scarcely deserved at its first institution even the name of an honor or a dignity. Yet the vanity of mankind swallowed the bait; the royal promise of restricting the whole number of baronets to 200, kept up the price and augmented the eagerness of purchasers: but no sooner was the number completed than the limitation was forgotten, and no one who could produce the requisite fee of admission had ever cause to lament that his application came too late.

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[a] Birch's *Prince Henry*, p. 220, and Appendix xviii.

Even

Even the peerage was set to sale with almost equal publicity; twenty thousand pounds would purchase the title of an earl, ten thousand that of viscount, and five thousand that of baron. Monopolies increased to a frightful degree, and the star-chamber fines became more than ever exorbitant. All these expedients, however, fell far short of producing supplies equal to the royal expenditure, and James sought further to relieve himself by cutting off the access of his needy and importunate countrymen, whose petitions he could neither deny without doing violence to his nature, nor grant without exciting the jealous murmurs of his English snbjects; who regarded him, says an acute writer, as little better than a "king-in-law" to themselves. A proclamation to this effect was issued at Edinburgh on May 10, 1610, which sets forth that, forasmuch as the daily resort of idle persons of base sort and condition was not only very unpleasant and offensive to his majesty, since he was daily importuned with their suits and begging, and his royal court almost filled with them, they being in the conceit of all beholders but "idle rascals and poor miserable bodies," —but that their country was heavily disgraced by it, and many slanderous imputations given out against the same, as if there were no persons "of good rank, comeliness nor credit" within it;—therefore it was ordered that no captains of ships should transport any passengers to England without license of the privy-council. Another proclamation takes notice that one of the errands, or pretexts, of these persons

sons was, to demand old debts due to them by the king, which, it is added, "is, of all kind of importunity, the maist unpleasing to his majesty[a]."

It was indeed high time for James to devise some means of appeasing the national animosity, which, after indicating itself by several private quarrels between individuals of the two kingdoms, had nearly broken forth in a general fray on the following occasion:—At a horse-race at Croydon, where many gentlemen, both Scotch and English, were assembled, that Ramsey, whose high favor with the king and splendid marriage have been already commemorated, on some provocation which is not mentioned, struck the earl of Montgomery on the face with his switch, or horsewhip. The English, enraged at the act, drew together with the resolution of making it a national quarrel, "so far as Mr. John Pinchback, though a maimed man, having but the perfect use of two fingers, rode about with his dagger in his hand, crying 'Let us break our fast with them here, and dine with the rest at London.' But Herbert not offering to strike again, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a gentleman[b]." James however was

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[a] *Secret History of the Court of James I.*, London edit. of 1811, vol. i. p. 144.

[b] Osborn adds, "in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the king made him a knight, a baron, a viscount and an earl, in one day." But he is egregiously mistaken in every part of this statement. First, Herbert was knighted some time before he was raised to the peerage; secondly, he never was a viscount; thirdly, he.

was greatly disturbed at the accident, and diligently applied himself to do justice between the parties. "On Sunday," writes More to Winwood, "his majesty took great pains in examining the matter of quarrel between the earl of Montgomery and young Ramsey, mentioned in my last;.....and the same night Ramsey was committed to the Tower, from whence it is thought he shall be sent out of this kingdom. His majesty carried the matter with great indifferency: and hereupon also did the prince take occasion to protest, that he carried an indifferent affection to both the nations; and that howsoever his nearest servants now were Scots, so placed by his father, yet that when he should come to his own choice, he is likely to serve himself as well of the English as of them[a]."

Maxwell, a rude and illiterate Scotchman, was also compelled by the king to give such satisfaction as should be required to Mr. Hawley, a bencher of Gray's Inn, who coming to court on a grand day, had been led out of the room by Maxwell "by a

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he had been earl of Montgomery several years before the affair at Croydon took place; for his patent bears date on the 4th of June in the third year of James I. (1605), and the Croydon business,—at least a quarrel between Ramsey and Montgomery, which appears to have been the same,—was advertised as news by Mr. More to Winwood on March 11, 1611. So lax a writer is Osborn. Perhaps there may be as little accuracy in the particulars transcribed from his narrative in the text, and even in the striking anecdote, that "the mother of Herbert tore her hair at the report of her son's dishonor."

[a] Winwood, iii. 349.

black

black string he wore in his ear,—a fashion then much in use[a]."

A third Scotch offender, much more heinously guilty than either of the former, on whom James about this time found it necessary to execute justice, was Crighton lord Sanquar, whose case was remarkable. In a trial of skill with Turner, a fencing-master, in which it should appear that one or both parties lost their temper, Sanquar had had an eye thrust out by the foil of his antagonist: five years afterwards, he revenged the blow by causing two hired assassins to shoot the unfortunate man in the midst of his school. The conduct of James on the occurrence is thus described by the eulogizing eloquence of Bacon on the arraignment of the offender:—"This murther was no sooner committed, and brought to his majesty's ears, but his just indignation, wherewith he was first moved, cast itself into a great deal of care and prudence to have justice done: first came forth his proclamation, somewhat of a rare form, and devised, and in effect dictated, by his majesty himself, and by that he did prosecute the offenders, as it were, with the breath and blast of his mouth: then did his majesty stretch forth his long arms;—for kings have long arms when they will extend them,—one of them to the sea, where he took hold of Gray shipped for Luedia, who gave the first light of testimony; the other arm to Scotland, and took hold of Carlisle ere he was warm in

[a] Osborn's *King James*, c. 27.

his

his house, and brought him the length of his king-dom, under such safe ward and custody as he could have no means to escape, no, nor to mischief himself, no, nor learn no lessons to stand mute; in which case, perhaps, this day's justice might have received a stop." The orator adds, that from the first, his majesty had said, "in a confident and undertaking manner, that wheresoever the offenders were in Europe, he would produce them forth to justice[a]." Sanquar himself was taken soon after, and, confessing his crime, suffered its due punishment. It has been said that this barbarous act was occasioned by an unguarded question of Henry IV., who asking lord Sanquar, when at the French court, how he lost his eye, and being answered "With a sword," inquired, "Does the man live who did it?" thus suggesting a revenge which was not before contemplated by the sufferer.

Osborn, far from magnifying the justice of king James after the courtly example of Bacon, gives the following satirical comment on the event: That by Sanquar's death "he satisfied in part the people, and wholly himself; it being thought he hated him for his love to the king of France, and not making any reply when he said, in his presence, to one that called our James a second Solomon, that he hoped he was not David the fidler's son: thus do princes abuse each other."

King James was about this time deprived of his

[a] *Scrinia Ceciliana*, p. 211.

great

great minister, the earl of Salisbury, who, after a long and painful decay, expired at Marlborough on his road from Bath to London, on May 24th 1612, in the fifty-first year of his age.

As the son of Burleigh; as the last great statesman of the school of Elizabeth; as the patron of Dutch independence; as the avowed enemy of the Spanish alliance, and the chosen object of the calumnies, the hostilities, and even the assassination-plots of the jesuits and other popish fanatics, Salisbury had originally firm holds on the affections of the English people: nor did his temper or manners oppose any bar to popularity: he bore authority with meekness, and was not subject to the gusts of pride and passion. Cheerful, mild, insinuating, affable and full of bounty, he strongly attached his immediate dependents, and gave great satisfaction to those who applied to him on matters of business. Even towards the rivals, or opponents, whom he was accused of conducting to their ruin, Essex and Raleigh, his deportment had ever been decent and apparently humane, and he at least avoided the gratuitous baseness of trampling on the fallen. In the official virtues of diligence, order, promptitude and dispatch, no one could excell him; and the reforms which he introduced into the management of the exchequer, the active and enlightened encouragement which he extended to the infant manufactures of the country, his skilful conduct in foreign transactions, and his wise and effectual cares for the improvement of Ireland, and especially for the establishment

blishment of legal tribunals throughout that island, extorted the praises of all parties. Yet it is certain that he lived and died the object of general distrust, obloquy and hatred. "Nothing in my lord of Salisbury's death," writes the contemplative Donne, "exercised my poor considerations so much as the multitude of libels. It was easily discerned, some years before his death, that he was at a defensive war both for his honor and health, and, as we then thought, for his estate; and I thought that had removed much of the envy. Besides, I have just reasons to think, that in the chiefest businesses between the States, he was a very good patriot[a]." These remarks are just: yet it must not be supposed that the general sentiment was void of reasonable foundation. The treachery practised by Salisbury towards all his political opponents, and especially towards the nation's favorite, Essex; the rapacity which swelled his coffers at the expense of such as had demands upon the treasury, of which he kept the key; and the licentiousness said to stain his private life, afforded matter sufficient for popular invective or anonymous libel; but men of noble minds and comprehensive views passed over in disdain the vices of the man, to fix their note of reprobation on the crimes of the minister.

During the lifetime of Elizabeth, the nation seems to have been content, in deference to her sex and character, to waive many of its undoubted rights and

[a] Donne's *Letters*, p. 89.

privileges,

privileges, and to indulge her in the despotism which she loved, confident that she would use it, on the whole, like a parent of her people. But on her death, it was its wish and purpose to resume its own, and to confine the foreign king whom it had been pleased to accept as her successor, within the bounds of law. A party, of which Raleigh was perhaps the head, had even confederated for the purpose of imposing certain specific limitations and conditions on the king of Scots before his admission; but all these designs in favor of liberty had been baffled by the management of Salisbury, who early discovered to what excess James was disposed to carry his prerogative maxims, and for his own purposes resolved to indulge him in this mischievous inclination to the utmost. It is one of the charges brought by Weldon against this minister, that he burned "a cartload of precedents which spoke the subjects liberties;" and whether this unsubstantiated charge be founded in truth or not, it is certain that he often both spoke and acted as if no such precedents had ever existed. He is said to have told the king that he might safely ride the English people, and need no bridle but their asses ears; and the leading measures of his administration were in character with so vile a suggestion. Such were, the attack upon the freedom of elections in the first session of James's parliament;—the arbitrary augmentation of the customs by royal authority;—the creation of a number of new, oppressive and illegal patents;—and the revival of the old feudal exactions;—the detestable doc-

trines

trines promulgated by him on the state-trials;—and above all, his atrocious and most shameless assertion that torture itself might justifiably be inflicted on free-born Englishmen, at the will and pleasure of their sovereign.

For offences like these, no diligence, no abilities, no merits in other branches of duty, could be accepted as a compensation by any true lover of his country even in that age; and posterity, enlightened by the political lessons of the succeeding reigns, will be little disposed to reverse the judgement of his contemporaries.

Such however was at this time the miserable deficiency both of talent and integrity in the cabinet of James, and the state of embarrassment and weakness to which it reduced the country, that both prince and people soon learned to value Salisbury by his loss.

It is somewhat uncertain on what terms this minister stood with the king at the time of his death. On his departure from London for Bath, James went in person to take leave of him, charged the physicians "*on their heads*" to be careful of him, and expressed with tears to those about him his apprehension of the loss of so wise a counsellor. He also sent a gentleman to Bath, on some hopes being given of the treasurer's amendment, to present him with "a fair table diamond" accompanied with a most gracious message, and the queen added a similar message and another jewel. But in demonstrations like these, towards a man of such rank and consequence, there

there is nothing conclusive; and it was certainly a prevalent opinion at the time, that he was menaced with disgrace. The evidence of Donne, who lived much with courtiers, is of some weight; but a much stronger testimony, and probably the most conclusive to be met with respecting the personal feelings of James towards his minister, occurs in the Apophthegms of Bacon.

This wary courtier, being asked by the king his opinion of the deceased lord-treasurer, ventured, it seems, to reply, that he was no counsellor to make his majesty's affairs grow better, but yet one to keep them from growing worse. James's answer was; "In the first you speak like a true man, in the second like a kinsman." In a somewhat similar spirit it was afterwards quaintly said, "that he was the first ill treasurer, and the last good, of James's reign." It may on the whole be concluded, that James must originally have viewed with some prejudice the son of that statesman who had brought his mother to the block, and that he could never cordially have loved a minister who opposed his extravagant donations to Carr and to others of his favorites; who was irreconcileably hostile to any close alliance with Spain, or any further indulgence to the catholics; and whom the high-church party, which possessed the royal ear, was continually accusing of puritanism. Yet the extensive influence of Salisbury, his experience, his acknowledged ability, and his subserviency on all points where prerogative was concerned, gave him a stability not easily to be shaken; and it

may

may well be doubted whether James would ever have ventured to displace him, to make way for the misrule of the minion whom he advanced in his stead.

Lord Salisbury left behind him a daughter married to lord Clifford; and an only son, William viscount Cranbourn, a person of slender abilities, vulgar tastes and feeble character, who rewarded but indifferently the ceaseless solicitudes of his sagacious and vigilant father. A series of letters to his son, still extant in manuscript, reflects in various ways much credit on the earl as a parent, and affords some curious notices of manners and manifestations of sentiment. The young viscount, after completing his course at Cambridge, was married at a premature age to the second daughter of the earl of Suffolk, and afterwards sent to travel for two years, attended by Mr. Lister a medical gentleman, and by John Finett, afterwards a knight, master of the ceremonies, and one of king James's buffoons in ordinary, —a person in all respects ill-qualified for his charge. The following letter well explains the views of the earl in his son's education:

"I like your letters well, and your desire to see me, to whom you shall be welcome whensoever it shall not hurt you more to come up than do me pleasure to have you. I wrote by Mr. Neale unto you, and willed him by word of mouth to tell you how I wished you should dispose of yourself; which is shortly this: To reside at Cambridge till you come away a scholar; not a scholar to be an usher

of

of a school, but a scholar like a gentleman; which if you obtain, you shall want neither liberty, pleasure, nor honest means to maintain you, if I have it. Always provided, and above all things, that you confirm yourself even in your youth in true faith, and knowledge what you believe; not like the child of a gross papist, who preach ignorance and gross corruption, instead of understanding of God's word or true religion. Avoid all such company, as you will have my blessing; and for your coming up, it may be that if I hear from your tutor that you study well, and from you what authors you read, that I will give you leave in grass time to come up for a fortnight; and if you spend but two years so well as to be once able to perform your exercises, then shall you come up and live a year about court before you go over," &c.

The anxious minuteness of the following remarks recalls the letters of Chesterfield: "Will: I like it well that you do write unto me, because I may observe your hand, which I see would mend if you were well taught: Yet I find ill orthography, which agreeth not well with an university. Neither will I let pass the absurdity of your marking your parenthesis thus; 'I (thank God).' Both which you may see I have noted, not that I account these faults in you, but to show you the weakness of those that are about you, who do suffer you to err in these childish things: To which I will add this one thing, worse than the rest; that your letters are without date, from any place or time; which makes me doubt whether

whether you be at Royston at some horserace, or at Cambridge. Your name is not well written, and therefore I have written it underneath as I would have it. I have also sent you a piece of paper folded as gentlemen use to write their letters, where yours are like those that come out of a grammar school. You must not think I am angry with you for these toys, but take them as omissions; for your faults will be only when I shall find you drunk in those sports which divert you from learning, and which I plainly tell you, especially for keeping running horses, I will no more allow."

The puritanical impressions of the writer are distinctly visible in his praise of Geneva, "to which place," says he, "I would not have you forbear to go, being so near it, but to spend some week there, or ten days, to see the exercises of their religion, though I would not have you think, that whatsoever is more in our church here must needs be too much, because it is more in outward ceremony than that petty state affordeth there. I would only have you learn their inward zeal in your prayers and attentive hearing of the word preached; observing their avoiding licentious speech, and custom of swearing, of which I tax you not, but only wish you to be where you may be confirmed, by observation of the doctrine and the discipline." Prince Henry had promised the earl of Salisbury to take lord Cranbourn into his service on his return from his travels, and therefore desired him to attain such accomplishments as he liked and "had few fit for." These

were "dancing, riding, cosmography, and any branches of the mathematics[a]."

His lordship was much disturbed at a report which had reached him that his son went abroad in Paris with other gentlemen, French and English, without the attendance of either of his governors; and after some remarks he adds, "This I write, not as thinking you a child, and yet you are no more man than divers others, both princes in Germany, earls in England and Scotland are, over whom their fathers are so careful as they allow not the absence of such as they trust from them at any time, especially when they are out of their own doors; whereof I can speak by good experience, for when I travelled first, and was twenty-four years old, my lord sent with me Mr. Richard Spencer, that lay next chamber to me, and never parted from me. To which, if you will say that I was not married, you may well remember my lord of Essex, from whom Mr. Wingfield never parted, and many others may so well as you."

"Methinks," says his lordshp. writing to his son whilst in France, "you might greatly ease yourself if you would diminish some part of your company, for it is true that all the world do discourse of my vanity to suffer my son to travel with more persons than ever subject carried out of England, whom the state employed not." It appears from another passage, that the train of this young nobleman amounted

[a] Donne's *Letters*, p. 89.

to

to the number of fifty. They were all English, and his father says he wishes that for the sake of improvement in the language he would change them for French; retaining however his cook and his *brewer*.

On lord Cranbourn's reaching Italy, his father again and again enjoins him to enter no city of which the pope is lord; "under whose roof," he says, "I would have you on no consideration." After the assassination of Henry IV. he writes to his son, that he finds cause to think of him with greater anxiety than when he was "under the protection of that worthy king; of whom," he adds "if you should suffer the precious memory to die, you were not worthy to live;" and he directs him to prepare for quitting the country as soon as he shall find it safely practicable[a].

The offices held by lord Salisbury were thus disposed of: The earl of Suffolk was thrust forward by dint of connexions and intrigues into that of lord-treasurer, giving up the chamberlainship to viscount Rochester: the post of secretary remained for some time vacant, during which the favorite was endeavouring to practise the part of a minister of state; but his incapacity becoming more and more evident, he resigned this pretension, and the king was content to nominate sir Ralph Winwood and sir Thomas Lake joint secretaries.

Several proposals for royal marriages were now

[a] MS. transcribed from the Hatfield collection by Dr. Haynes.

in agitation: the duke of Bouillon, at this time the head of the French protestants, arrived in embassy from the queen-regent of France, charged, amongst other business, to negotiate a marriage between the prince of Wales and Madame Christine, second daughter of France. The overture was received with all honor; but fears were entertained at the French court, that the necessities of the king of Great Britain might finally induce him to prefer the offer of a daughter of the duke of Florence with several millions of crowns for her dower. Soon after, an ambassador extraordinary arrived from Savoy with a double commission; to solicit the hand of the princess Elizabeth for the heir of that dukedom, and to offer that of his sister to the acceptance of the English prince. The latter proposition was immediately declined, as totally inadequate to the just pretensions of Henry; but the former, it was hinted, might become, separately, a fair object of negotiation. The ambassador was doubtful whether he was authorized to treat for this match singly; and religious scruples arose, which threatened to protract, and perhaps ultimately to defeat, the treaty. All this time a kind of languid negotiation was kept up by Spain for the marriage of the infanta to the prince of Wales;—there was indeed nothing pressing in the affair, for the eldest infanta had been given in marriage to the king of France, and her sister, whom they now proposed to the English court, had scarcely passed her infancy. A short time before, the earl of Salisbury had highly affronted the Spanish

Spanish ambassador by affecting to suppose, that as the prince could not possibly be expected to keep himself so long unmarried, it was rather to the young duke of York that the honor of the infanta's hand was destined.

Prince Henry is reported to have declared himself on these matters so far as to have said openly, that if they persisted in marrying him to a popish princess, he desired that at least the youngest of those proposed should be selected, as the more hope might be entertained of her conversion. Meantime the fate of the princess his sister was speedily advancing to its crisis. Fresh overtures for her marriage had been made and accepted; and the young elector Palatine, seconded by the prayers and good wishes of all zealous protestants in England, Germany and Holland, arrived as her suitor on October 16, 1612; and John Finett, then deputy master of the ceremonies, affords us, in the following words, a description equally circumstantial and authentic of the forms and honors of his reception:

"The count Palatine landed at Gravesend on Friday night last the 16th of this present. He had his first welcome delivered to him by my lord Hay in name of his majesty, and his second on Sunday by my lord duke of Lenox, attended thither by many knights and some gentlemen. At their encounter, the count,—as one surprised, and not expecting to hear from his majesty till Monday,—is said merrily to have told the duke, that, but to show his obedience, he would excuse that day's appearance, before

his

his mistress especially, whom he should not see but *in clinquant*, his apparel being then, as in his journey, but ordinary. Passing before the Tower, fourscore pieces of great ordnance gave him their loud welcome, and a warning to the earls of Shrewsbury, Sussex, Southampton, and other earls and lords, to wait upon the duke of York to the stairs at Whitehall, there to receive him at his landing; and to conduct him to the presence of his majesty, the queen, prince and princess in the banqueting-house. His approach, gesture and countenance were seasoned with a well-becoming confidence; and, bending himself with a due reverence before the king, he told him, among other compliments, that in his sight and presence he enjoyed a great part (reserving, it should seem, the greatest to his mistress) of the end and happiness of his journey. After, turning to the queen, she entertained him with a fixed countenance; and though her posture might have seemed (as was judged) to promise him the honor of a kiss for his welcome, his humility carried him no higher than her hand. From which, after some few words of compliment, he made to the prince, and exchanging with him, after a more familiar strain, certain passages of courtesy, he ended (where his desires could not but begin) with the princess, (who was noted till then not to turn so much as a corner of an eye towards him,) and stooping low to take up the lowest part of her garment to kiss it, she, most gracefully curtsying lower than accustomed, and with her hand staying him from that humblest reverence, gave

him

him at his rising a fair advantage (which he took) of kissing her. This was the first day. The next was spent in revisiting the king and queen, and twice the lady Elizabeth; once in the afternoon at her own lodging in state, and after supper with somewhat less ceremony.

"To give you now a touch of his outward character, which may tell you his inward: He hath most happily deceived good men's doubts and ill men's expectations: report, of envy, malice, or weak judgement, having painted him in so ill colours, as the most here, and especially our ladies and gentlewomen, who held themselves not a little interested in the handsome choice of her grace's husband, prepared themselves to see that with sorrow which they now apprehend with much gladness.

"He is straight and well shaped for his growing years: his complexion is brown, with a countenance pleasing, and promising both wit, courage and judgement. He becomes himself very well, and is very well liked of all, unless of those that are now sorry they did so honor him as to discommend him..... He is well followed, the number not so great as worthy, most of them men much better fashioned than Germany usually affords them. There are in all eight counts, besides count Henry of Nassau, some sixteen gentlemen, and the rest do make up about one hundred and fifty.....No time, but by conjecture, is prefixed for the marriage; the most think it will be about Easter. In the mean time, we

talk

talk of masks, tilts and barriers; but they are yet under invention, not in resolution[a]."

In the midst of these festive preparations, prince Henry, who joined in them with great cordiality, and spared no demonstrations of respect and attention towards his destined brother-in-law, was suddenly taken ill, and after a painful struggle of above a fortnight expired on November 6, 1612, having nearly completed his nineteenth year. The grief of the people was unbounded; it pervaded all ranks, all classes, and almost all parties. The young and adventurous, weary of the inaction of James's reign, passionately bewailed a prince supposed to resemble Henry V., that favourite of English story, equally in his outward form and in the nobler qualities of his mind; and under whose auspices they hoped to rush to victory and conquest. The zealous party in religion mourned a patron of whom it was fondly expected that he would reunite the protestant church in the bond of unity, and repress by rigorous methods the growth of popery, and whom some of the most enthusiastic of the sect appear to have fancied a chosen instrument in the hands of providence for the overthrow of the papacy itself, which they styled the kingdom of Antichrist. Even the rudest and most indifferent natures were touched by that most affecting and humiliating of lessons on the instability of human hopes,—death in the midst of youth, and happiness, and anticipated royalty.

[a] Winwood, iii. 403.

Nothing

Nothing is more rapid, than the transition from one passion to another in large bodies of men; and the grief of the people for the loss of Henry was almost immediately exchanged for indignation at the apathy with which it was regarded by the court, and for the blackest suspicions. During the early days of his illness, the prince had been repeatedly visited at St. James's by his father, mother and sister; but the last time that the king had approached his sick chamber, he had been deterred from entering by the suggestion of his courtiers, that the sight was too painful for the eyes of a parent; and immediately quitting London, he was content to await the result at Theobalds. He received the melancholy intelligence with great insensibility: after a very short interval, all persons were prohibited from approaching the royal presence in the garb of mourning, and special orders were given that the preparations for the Christmas festivities should proceed without interruption. Three days only after the prince's death, viscount Rochester, who was now regarded as minister as well as favorite, wrote to sir Thomas Edmonds, the ambassador to France, to recommence in the name of prince Charles the marriage treaty begun for his brother; but a sense of decency withheld Edmonds from immediate compliance with these strange directions. Richard earl of Dorset, writing to the same ambassador on November 23, has the following strong passage relative to the behaviour which he witnessed on this occasion: "That our rising sun is set, ere scarcely he had

had shone, and that with him all our glory lies buried, you know and do lament as well as we; and better than some do, and more truly, or else you are not a man, and sensible of this kingdom's loss[a]."

Sir Robert Naunton, a secretary of state and professed follower of Rochester, ventures on the following dark hints in a letter to Winwood:

"Touching our Palladium which we have lost, I hold it neither fit to write what I conceive, and less fit to be written to your lordship. It is given out by his confidents, that he had a design to have come over with the palsgrave, and have drawn count Maurice along with him with some promises, and done some exploit upon the place which shot the palsgrave's harbinger, and happily to have seen the landgrave's daughter, or I know not what. That this he meant to have done, whatsoever it was, '*clam patrem et senatum suum*' (unknown to his father and the council), and hatching some such secret design, which was made subject to misconstruction, it is now become abortive, like that of Henry IV. of France. Sir Henry Neville told me, that he had vowed that never idolater should come in his bed: and I was ascertained, that in his sickness he applied this chastisement for a deserved punishment upon him for having ever opened his ears to admit treaty of such a popish match[b]."

That prince Henry was poisoned by viscount

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[a] Birch's *Life of prince Henry*, p. 405.

[b] Winwood, iii. p. 410.

Rochester

Rochester became after a time the general belief not merely of the vulgar, or of a party, but of persons of the highest rank and consequence. We have it on the authority of Burnet, that Charles I. always expressed himself of this opinion respecting the death of his brother. Nor did the king himself escape the horrid and incredible charge of being privy to the poisoning of his son, at least after the fact. In corroboration of these surmises, several anecdotes are related in the secret histories, or scandalous memoirs, of the time, illustrative of the open hostility which had subsisted between the prince and the favorite, or of the malignant jealousy with which the monarch was supposed to have contemplated his heir. One of the best authenticated of these stories is related by sir Charles Cornwallis, treasurer to the prince, in a "Discourse" on his life and death, and is to this effect: That a nobleman in the highest favor with the king,—a description appropriate to none but Rochester,—had written to the prince, by order of his majesty, a letter on some important and urgent affair, to which he had subscribed himself, "yours before all the world." Henry directed Cornwallis to write an answer, which, when finished, he was about to sign; but observing that the subscription was couched in words of favor towards the nobleman, he ordered it to be re-written, notwithstanding the haste required, with the omission of these courtly phrases, declaring that this person "had dealt with him unfaithfully and falsely,

and

and that his hand should never attest what his heart did not dictate."

Osborn says that Henry "contemned so far at first his father's election of Rochester, as he was reported either to have struck him on the back with his racket, or very hardly forborne it." Wilson's account of the causes of their rivalry is given, in his usual fantastical style, as follows:

"Thus was he (Rochester) drawn up by the beams of majesty to shine in the highest glory, grappling often with the prince in his own sphere in divers contestations. For the prince, being a high-born spirit, and meeting a young competitor in his father's affections, that was a mushroom of yesterday, thought the venom would grow too near him, and therefore gave no countenance but opposition to it; which was aggravated by some little scintils of love as well as hatred (rivals in passion), being both amorous and in youthful blood, fixing by accident upon one object, who was a third man's; in which the viscount got the mastery, but to his ruin, the prince showing his affection, by his neglecting of her, to be grounded rather upon envy to the man, than love to the woman[a]."

The lady here alluded to was the countess of Essex, whom several contemporary memoir writers concur in representing as the object of the prince's gallantry. James's jealousy of his son is rather assumed

[a] Wilson, p. 55.

by

by the same writers on vague grounds, or slight circumstances, than proved by decisive facts: but neither the demonstration of the existence of this sentiment in its utmost force, nor the most decided proof of Rochester's enmity towards the prince, ought apparently to countervail the direct and authentic testimony which we possess as to the manner and causes of Henry's death. This part of the case has thus been stated by a biographer of that celebrated physician sir Theodore Mayerne:

"One of the most important and at the same time most unfortunate occurrences during the course of his employment, was the fatal sickness of Henry prince of Wales, the eldest son of king James, and the darling hope of his subjects. This prince was taken ill on October 15, 1612; but it was not till the 25th that his disorder was thought of importance enough to require the assistance of Dr. Mayerne, in addition to that of Dr. Hammond, his physician in ordinary. The disease was a putrid fever; and the most accurate account of its progress, together with every circumstance of the prince's constitution and manner of life which might predispose to it, is given in the collection of cases left by Mayerne; who, from the time of his being called in, appears to have had the chief management of the case.

"The patient died on November 6; and from the whole course of the symptoms, as well as the appearances on dissection, there cannot be the least doubt that his death was the consequence of a natural disease, and not induced by any iniquitous means,

as

as some of the enemies of that unhappy family have affected to believe. We find, however, that certain malicious reflections, which were at that time made, either against the fidelity or skill of our physician in this affair, influenced him, besides drawing up both in French and Latin a minute account of the whole disease and its treatment, to procure a certificate from the king expressing the most perfect satisfaction with his conduct; and two others, from the lords of the council, and the officers and gentlemen of the prince, to the same purpose. His disagreement in opinion with the other physicians, with respect to bleeding the patient, made this caution the more necessary[a]."

The prince's household continued together till the end of December, when it was dismissed with a pathetic funeral sermon by Hall, sometimes called the English Seneca, ending with the following striking exhortation: "Go in peace, and live as those that have lost such a master; and as those that serve a master whom they cannot lose."

The two universities produced sermons, Latin orations, and collections of verses, in honor of the prince of Wales; one of the Oxford publications on this occasion consisted chiefly of pieces in the pastoral style,—a mode of composition well suited to the affectation of the age. Besides these established tributes of loyal duty, most of the contemporary poets of eminence, with the very remarkable exception of

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[a] Aikin's *Biographical memoirs of Medicine*, p. 253.

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Ben Jonson,—who might already be styled the court poet, though he was not yet appointed laureate;—hastened to scatter their voluntary offerings round the tomb of Henry. Their enumeration will serve to recall some half-forgotten names belonging to the literary history of the seventeenth century.

Chapman, the rugged but not spiritless translator of Homer, bewailed in the prince his "most dear and heroical patron." His theatrical compeers, Webster and Heywood, each produced an elegy. William Brown, who published in the following year "Britannia's pastorals," and afterwards some eclogues entitled "The shepherd's pipe," first exercised his muse on this pathetic theme. The versification of this writer was harmonious, his style pure and simple, his imagery poetical and pleasing; and if his taste or his good fortune had led him to the cultivation of any other species of poetry than allegorical pastoral, he might have raised a more enduring name. Brown's immediate success however was considerable; he was esteemed and patronized, became tutor to a young nobleman, deserted the muses, followed gainful ways, and died rich and obscure.

An elegy on the same subject also occurs amongst the poems of the once celebrated Dr. Donne, known to the modern reader almost solely by Pope's versification of two of his satires, and as the founder of an obsolete school of poetry, called first by Dryden the metaphysical. He was however a person of very considerable endowments both moral and intellectual,

tual, who excited the esteem and admiration of many of the greatest and wisest of his contemporaries, and whose life, character and singular modes of thinking, may still be found worthy to interest posterity.

John Donne was born in London in 1573. His mother was of the family of the excellent sir Thomas More, and both she and his father were strongly attached to the church of Rome. For this reason, probably, their son received at home the rudiments of an education in which religious impressions were sedulously combined with classical instruction. At an early age he was however sent to Oxford, the university constantly preferred at this period by catholic parents, on account of its concealing within its bosom many zealous members of their own communion, who exerted a secret but efficacious superintendence over the spiritual concerns of such youths as were recommended to their vigilance. Religious scruples compelled Donne to quit this seat of learning without a degree, as he afterwards did Cambridge, where he studied during three following years. He now entered at Lincoln's Inn and made some progress in the study of the law; but his father's death putting him in possession of a patrimony of 3000*l.*, he thought himself at liberty to suspend his final choice of a profession, and to indulge his inquisitive turn of mind in an excursive range through various fields of knowledge. One part of his occupation at this period, and apparently none of the least laborious, was the composition of a multitude of love-verses filled with strange conceits and far-

fetched

fetched allusions, and in which grossness of language was employed to counterfeit the genuine expression of sentiment. To the reproach of public taste, these compositions became popular, and they served as the passport of their author to the society of the ingenious and the gay, in which he spent most of his fortune, and stored up matter of penitence for graver years.

The native disposition however of Donne was serious and contemplative, and the grounds of difference between the religion of his country and that of his family, early engaged his deepest attention. The result of an anxious investigation seems to have left him in some system which did not exactly correspond with either church; but it indelibly impressed upon his mind a conviction of the right and duty of private judgement in matters of faith, and inspired him with a spirit of candor and conciliation which nobly distinguished him in that age of polemical exasperation. The following rugged but vigorous lines of his third satire well express his manly sentiments on this subject:

——"Fool and wretch! wilt thou let thy soul be tied
To man's laws, by which she shall not be tried
At the last day? Or will it then boot thee
To say, a Philip or a Gregory,
A Harry or a Martin taught me this?
Is not this excuse for mere contraries
Equally strong? Cannot both sides say so?
That thou may'st rightly obey power, her bounds know;
Those past, her name and nature's changed; to be
Then humble to her is idolatry."

A very striking reflection is also conveyed in a passage of one of his letters treating on the various theories of the transmission of the soul. "I begin to think that as litigious men, tired with suits, admit any arbitrement; and princes travailed with long and wasteful war descend to such conditions of peace as they are soon after ashamed to have embraced; so philosophers, and so all sects of christians, after long disputations and controversies, have allowed many things for positive and dogmatical truths which are not worthy of that dignity: and so many doctrines have grown up to be the ordinary diet and food of our spirits, and have place in the pap of catechisms, which were admitted but as physic in that present distemper, or accepted in a lazy weariness, when men, so they might have something to rely upon, and to excuse themselves from more painful inquisition, never examined what that was[a]."

In the years 1596 and 7, Donne is stated to have attended the earl of Essex,—but in what capacity does not appear,—in his expedition to Cadiz and in his Island voyage, and it was perhaps through the interest of this patron that he was preferred, soon after his return, to the office of secretary to sir Thomas Egerton keeper of the seals, afterwards lord-chancellor and baron Ellesmere, by whom he was highly favored and marked out for further promotion. But an attachment to a niece of lady Egerton's, whom he clandestinely married in 1602, blighted for

[a] *Letters to several persons of honor*, by John Donne, p. 12.

ever

ever these fair prospects[a]. The father of the lady, sir George Moore lieutenant of the Tower, was so violently enraged at the news of these stolen nuptials, that he caused Donne himself, the clergyman who performed the ceremony, and the friend who gave away the bride, to be all thrown into prison, and never ceased importuning the lord-keeper till he had wrung from him a reluctant dismissal of Donne at the end of a service of five years. By this barbarous act of paternal vengeance, the young couple were reduced to a state of utter destitution; and the generous kindness of a relation, who during several years retained them as his inmates and supplied the wants of their growing family, alone preserved them from actual beggary.

[a] Walton pretends that Donne, after his attendance on the earl of Essex, "returned not back till he had stayed some years, first in Italy and then in Spain," during which he made many "useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages." But it should seem that no part of this statement can be true. At this period of the reign of Elizabeth an Englishman could not have travelled so long in Italy, and most certainly could not once have set his foot on the hostile shores of Spain,—unless, indeed, he went as a spy,—without assuming the character of a catholic fugitive; which would have subjected him to the penalties of high treason on his return. Besides, there are only five years between the date of the Island voyage and that of Donne's marriage;—which appears from the inscription on his wife's monument to have taken place in 1602; and, according to Walton himself, he had previously served the lord-keeper for that number of years. Such is the accuracy of this *amiable* biographer! Compare Zouch's edition of Walton, vol. i. pp. 48, 100.

It is melancholy to trace the effects of dependence and distress on the character and destiny of such a man as Donne:—formed alike to explore the recesses of scholastic learning, to triumph in the social combats of wit and argument, and to exercise in its fullest extent the privilege of philosophic speculation, he saw himself doomed to task a reluctant muse to the production of commanded strains;—to exhaust his powers and abase his spirit in laborious flatteries and miserable supplications for relief;—to reproach himself in vain for the wanderings of thoughts which he knew not how to guide in any gainful course;—and finally, to silence the scruples which had long held back his foot from the tempting paths of church-preferment. In this unfortunate situation, the sensibility of his temper and the tenderness of his conscience were but sources of aggravated misery. "For me," he pathetically writes, "if I were able to husband all my time so thriftily, as not only not to wound my soul in any minute by actual sin, but not to rob or cozen her by giving any part to pleasure or business, but bestow it all upon her in meditation, yet even in that I should wound her more, and contract another guiltiness: as the eagle were very unnatural if, because she is able to do it, she should perch a whole day upon a tree, staring in contemplation of the majesty and glory of the sun, and let her young eaglets starve in the nest[a]."

[a] Donne's *Letters*, p. 48.

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In the midst of his embarrassments, his friend Dr. Morton, then dean of Gloucester, surprised him with a generous offer to resign a valuable living to him, if he could be induced to take orders. After three days of fasting and prayer, enjoined upon him by his friend before he decided, Donne announced to him his conviction that the clerical profession was to him unlawful, since he found in himself no higher vocation to it than the want of a maintenance, and was besides disturbed by other scruples, which he begged to decline stating. Notwithstanding Donne's poverty, he was at this time the reigning wit of the court; was flattered and caressed both by men and women of quality, and possessed several valuable friends; particularly sir Henry Goodere, gentleman of the privy chamber, and sir Robert Carr, afterwards earl of Ancram, the relation and principal intimate of the favorite of the same names, who likewise became his patron. It does not appear when or by whom Donne was first introduced to the king; James however was immediately struck with his parts and learning, delighted to engage him in scholastic discourse, and was supposed to have destined him for preferment; but when urged to bestow upon him any civil office, he constantly refused, having predetermined in his own mind to force him into the church. With this view he engaged him to write on the question of the oath of allegiance, which was then occupying his own royal pen, and Donne in consequence produced, in 1610, his Pseudo-Martyr, said to be an able defence of the lawfulness of this

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test to the conscientious catholic. How freely, and with what impartiality, he was capable of judging on a subject so hotly contested by others, will best appear from a few passages of a letter to sir Henry Goodere, respecting some other work written on the king's side of the question, which unfortunately is not named.

"To you that are not easily scandalized, and in whom I hope neither my religion nor my morality can suffer, I dare write my opinion of that book in whose bowels you left me. It hath refreshed and given new justice to my ordinary complaint; that the divines of these times are become mere advocates, as though religion were a temporal inheritance; they plead for it with all sophistications, and illusions, and forgeries: and herein are they likest advocates, that though they be feed by the way with dignities and other recompenses, yet that for which they plead is none of theirs. They write for religion without it. In the main point in question, I truly think there is a perplexity, as far as I see yet, and both sides may be in justice and innocence; and the wounds which they inflict upon the adverse part, are all *se defendendo*; for, clearly, our state cannot be safe without the oath; since they profess that clergymen, though traitors, are no subjects, and that all the rest may be none tomorrow. And, as clearly, the supremacy which the Roman church pretend, were diminished if it were limited; and will as ill abide that, or disputation, as the prerogative of temporal kings, who, being the only judges

of

of their prerogative, why may not Roman bishops (so enlightened as they are presumed by them) be good witnesses of their own supremacy, which is now so much impugned.....

"I know, as I begun, I speak to you who cannot be scandalized, and that neither measure religion, as it is now called, by unity, nor suspect unity for these interruptions.... They whose active function it is, must endeavour this unity in religion; and we at our lay altars (which are our tables, or bedsides, or stools, wheresoever we dare prostrate ourselves to God in prayer,) must beg it of him; but we must take heed of making misconclusions upon the want of it: for, whether the mayor and aldermen fall out, as with us and the puritans, bishops against priests, or the commoners' voices differ who is mayor, or who aldermen, or what their jurisdiction, as with the bishop of Rome, or whosoever, yet it is still one corporation[a]."

In 1612 Donne accompanied sir Robert Drury, one of his kindest patrons, to Paris, where sir Robert had probably some diplomatic employment: two years after, finding every other door to advancement closed upon him, and the royal will invincible, he consented, after long and severe struggles with himself, to take orders; was admitted by royal mandate to a doctor's degree at Cambridge, and became one of the king's chaplains. In the quaint and sententious style of preaching then fashionable,

[a] Donne's *Letters*, p. 160 et seq.

Donne

Donne was peculiarly formed to excel, and he was soon gratified with the honorable appointment of Lincoln's Inn lecturer. In 1619 he attended lord Hay on his embassy to the king of Bohemia. Before his departure, he ventured to transmit to his friend sir Robert Carr a manuscript copy of his extraordinary piece entitled "Biathanatos, or a declaration of that paradox or thesis, that self-homicide is not so naturally a sin that it may not be otherwise."

Soon after his return, the king, who justly thought himself bound in honor to provide for *his* doctor, as he was fond of styling him, sent and appointed him to attend at his dinner the following day. "When his majesty was set down, before he had eat any meat, he said, after his pleasant manner, 'Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner, and though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you dean of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study; say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you[a].'" This preferment placed Donne at the summit of his wishes; he lived beloved and respected for his charity, disinterestedness and memory of past benefits, and almost sainted for the fervor of his devotion, which seems to have been somewhat tinged with enthusiasm, and with the spirit of catholic mortification: he died generally regretted in 1631, and

[a] Zouch's *Walton*, i. 108.

elegies

elegies in his honor were composed by Corbet, Carew, Jonson and lord Falkland. As a poet, Donne may be admitted to deserve the neglect which has overtaken him; but his letters exhibit an extent of curious learning, a power of deep and original thinking, and above all a comprehensive liberality of soul, which ought ever to preserve him in respectful remembrance among the ornaments of lettered society and the guides of public opinion in an age rich beyond all others in English genius.

CHAPTER XIII.

1613, 1614.

Marriage of the princess to the elector Palatine.—The profusion and poverty of the court.—Schemes to raise money.—James refuses to liberate lord Grey.—Expensive progress of the queen.—Account of sir Thomas Overbury.—His imprisonment.—Intrigues of the countess of Essex.—Rochester incensed by her against Overbury.—Overbury poisoned in the Tower.—Divorce of the countess of Essex.—She marries Rochester, who is created earl of Somerset.—The addle parliament.—Revenge taken by the king on those who oppose him.—Death and character of the earl of Northampton.—Second visit of the king of Denmark.—Money illegally raised.

THE nuptials of the king's only surviving daughter, which were solemnised in February 1613, served to dispel the gloom which the untimely death of her brother had diffused over the nation. An alliance so eminently protestant was justly hailed as an invaluable security to the religion of the country, and it was perhaps hoped, though vainly, that the popular applause which attended it might be received by the king as an admonition to follow so wise and happy a precedent in the disposal of his son and heir.

The princess Elizabeth was at this time in her sixteenth year, and the symmetry of her features was heightened,—if we may trust the painters,—by that mixture of the sprightly and the soft in expression which

which lends to female beauty its most powerful fascination. History seems to borrow the colours of romance when she paints this fair young princess, on the morning of her marriage, all accomplished in loveliness and majesty, passing to the chapel along a stately gallery raised for the purpose; arrayed all in white, her dark hair floating at length upon her shoulders, and a crown of pure gold upon her head; the young prince her brother leading her by one hand and the aged earl of Northampton by the other, whilst a cluster of fair and noble bridemaids hovered about her steps, also robed in white, "and so adorned with jewels that her path looked like a milky way." "While the archbishop was solemnizing the marriage," adds Wilson, "some corruscations and lightnings of joy appeared in her countenance, that expressed more than an ordinary smile, being almost elated to a laughter, which could not clear the air of her fate, but was rather a forerunner of more sad and dire events: which shows how slippery nature is to toll us along to those things that bring danger, yea sometimes destruction, with them."

England had seen nothing equal to the sumptuousness of this marriage. "It were to no end," says Winwood's correspondent, "to write of the curiosity and excess of bravery both of men and women, with the extreme daubing on of cost and riches; only a touch shall serve in a few for a pattern of the rest. The lady Wotton was said to have a gown that cost fifty pound a yard the embroidering; and the lord Montague (that hath paid reasonably well for

for recusancy) bestowed fifteen hundred pound in apparel upon his two daughters[a]." Sir John Finett writes thus: "The bravery and riches of that day was incomparable; gold and silver laid upon lords', ladies', and gentlewomen's backs was the poorest burden; pearls and costly embroideries being the commonest wear. The king's, queen's, and prince's jewels only, were valued that day by his majesty himself.... at nine hundred thousand pounds sterling[b]." The fireworks and mock fight exhibited upon the Thames are said to have cost above 6800*l.*; a very rich and sumptuous mask, which proved however "long and tedious," was exhibited by noblemen; the gentlemen of the Middle Temple and of Lincoln's Inn rode in great state to court, and exhibited an entertainment in which their fine dancing was much admired; and those of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple, meaning to represent as their device the marriage of the Thames and the Rhine, made a grand procession by water.

In the midst of all this parade and profusion, the court was reduced to the utmost extremity by the want of money; the household of the palatine himself was abruptly dissolved, and most of his company sent away, to the extreme mortification of his bride, because, "necessity had no law;" and for the same irresistible reason, a very slender train of ladies was appointed to wait on the princess over the water. The feudal aid which James did not forget to levy

[a] Winwood, iii. 434. [b] *Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 11.

for

for the marriage of his daughter, as before for the knighting of his eldest son, produced little more than 20,000*l.*; half only of the portion which he actually paid down with her; the remainder, added to the other expenses of the nuptials, to the entertainment of the palatine in England, and to the conveyance of the princess to Germany, amounting to the enormous sum of 53,298*l.*[a], went to increase the already overwhelming burden of the royal debt.

Lord Harrington, who waited upon the bride home, in discharge of 30,000*l.*, which he said he had spent in her service, had his suit granted for the coinage of a certain number of base farthings of brass;—a measure justly regarded as of the worst augury. "And you must think," writes Chamberlain, "that we are brought to a low ebb, when last week the archduke's ambassador was carried to see the ancient goodly plate of the house of Burgundy, pawned to queen Elizabeth by the General States in anno 1578 as I remember, and to know whether his princes would redeem it, for otherwise it was to be melted[b]."

Several projects for levying money without the interposition of parliament, began again to be agitated in the council; a benevolence was talked of; and Rochester, either by way of setting a good example, or as an atonement to popular indignation,

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[a] See *An abstract or brief declaration of the present state of his majesty's revenue*, 1698.

[b] Winwood, iii. 442.

sent

sent for some officers of the revenue, and, delivering to them the key of a chest, bade them take its contents for the king's service: they amounted to four- or five-and-twenty thousand pounds in gold: such had been the lavish bounty of his royal master towards him!

The marriage of the princess appears to have been accomplished by a zealously protestant party,—at the head of which were archbishop Abbot and secretary Winwood,—rather with the acquiescence than the cordial approbation of the king; and the palatine, in a letter to the archbishop immediately before his embarkation, complained that James had treated him rather like a "childish youth" whose wishes were unworthy of attention, than like a prince and a son-in-law. To the palatine's earnest solicitations for the release of the unfortunate lord Grey, which he made principally at the desire of his uncle the duke of Bouillon, James had returned a flat denial, adding, "Son, when I come to visit you in Germany, I promise not to ask you for any of your prisoners."

The prejudices, religious and political, of the queen rendered her daughter's alliance a source of the severest mortification to her; it is said that she could never endure the sight of Winwood afterwards; she treated the palatine himself with great haughtiness, and affected to call his bride by no other title than the goodwife Palsgrave. For the purpose apparently of dissipating her chagrin, she thought proper, just at this crisis of the royal treasury, to undertake

undertake a sumptuous progress to Bath, expected to cost no less than 30,000*l.*

In the spring of 1613, some circumstances occurred, which supplied much matter of conjecture and discussion. There was in court a gentleman of the name of Overbury, originally patronised, it should appear, by the earl of Salisbury; a person of considerable talents and accomplishments, of a bold carriage and an aspiring temper, who seemed marked out by fortune for political advancement. After completing his studies for public life by a long tour on the continent, Overbury on his return had attracted the notice of viscount Rochester, who, duly sensible by this time of his own deficiencies in all the qualifications of a minister of state, had not only availed himself of his assistance in the capacity of a secretary, but had adopted him as a confidential friend, and, according to the expression of lord Bacon, looked to him as to "an oracle of direction." James had knighted him as an earnest of further promotion, and the whole tribe of suitors and court-expectants paid homage to him as the favorite's favorite.

In the midst of these flattering prospects a sudden reverse had overtaken him, the occasion of which is thus related: The king, without any previous intimation of his purpose, sent two of his council to propose to sir Thomas Overbury an embassy, to France or Flanders according to some, but according to others,—and it is the more probable statement,—to Russia. Alarmed and disconcerted at the offer, which he regarded in no other light than a

specious

specious banishment from the scene of all his consequence and all his hopes, Overbury, on some pretext of health, declined the employment, and, being further urged, was at length provoked to add, that the king could not, in law or in justice, force him to forsake his country. This answer was deemed a heinous contempt; and James in great wrath ordered him to be committed to the Tower. Rochester was at this time confined by illness, and it was at first imagined that this severity against his friend had been inflicted without his concurrence and portended his fall. But the king himself took pains to dispel this illusion by declaring to his council the next day, respecting the viscount, "that he meant him daily more honor and favor, as should be seen in short time, and that he took more delight and contentment in his company and conversation than in any man's living[a]." Orders were however given, that the unfortunate prisoner should be kept in the closest custody, and sir Robert Killigrew was "committed to the Fleet from the council-table for having some little speech with sir Thomas Overbury, who called to him as he passed by his window, as he came from visiting sir Walter Raleigh[b]." To such a height, it may be observed, was the long-established abuse of illegal imprisonment at this time carried!

Precisely at this juncture, the court-correspondent of Winwood informed him, that there had been

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[a] Winwood, iii. 453.

[b] *Ibid.* iii. 455.

mention

mention of lady Essex's suing for a divorce from her husband, but that an accident had happened which had altered the case: "For she, having sought out a certain wise woman, had much conference with her, and she, after the nature of such creatures, drawing much money from her, at last cozened her of a jewel of great value; for which being apprehended and clapped up, she accused the lady of divers strange questions and projects; and in conclusion, that she dealt with her for the making away of her lord, as aiming at another mark. Upon which scandal and slander, the lord-chamberlain and his friends think it not fit to proceed in the divorce[a]." The connection between this infamous affair and the imprisonment of Overbury became in the sequel but too evident.

The "other mark" at which the countess of Essex aimed was a marriage with viscount Rochester, to compass which she scrupled no wickedness against her husband, no opprobrium to herself: the circumstances of the case were these: The earl of Essex and lady Frances Howard, eldest daughter of the earl of Suffolk, had submitted to the marriage ceremony at the immature age then customary; after which the husband was sent to travel, and the wife was brought to court, where she soon became a reigning beauty. Regardless of the claims of a spouse who returned to her at the end of three or four years, almost a stranger, she pitched upon the royal favourite as the only conquest worthy of her

[a] Winwood, iii. 455.

charms; and with an excess of female depravity to which English story fortunately affords few parallels, she set herself to accomplish his seduction not alone by the artifices and blandishments of wanton beauty, but by the atrocious agency of those vile impostors who pretended to command the affections by spells, by sorceries, and by philtres. Rochester was speedily insnared, and Overbury became the confident of his illicit passion, to which it seems that he had the meanness so far to lend himself as to indite the love-letters of the illiterate viscount. But when Overbury perceived that a marriage with his patron was the consummation sought by the countess, to which a scandalous divorce procured by perjury and artifice must serve as the means, his judgement, if not his conscience, revolted against the design; and with great vehemence of zeal, and many expressions of bitter contumely against the lady, he remonstrated with him on the enormous folly of making a woman stained with such public reproach and infamy his wife. Rochester, with the usual treachery of a man so infatuated, repeated to his fury-mistress the rash discourse of his friend; she vowed vengeance, and having succeeded in rousing the indignation of her lover, persuaded him to take effectual means for the removal of so importunate a witness of their conduct.

For this purpose, the favorite complained to the weak monarch whom he governed, that Overbury, presuming upon the intimacy to which he had incautiously admitted him, had now become insufferably insolent and headstrong; and he suggested the

expedient

expedient of sending him on a distant embassy. At the same time, he perfidiously encouraged this unhappy victim to persist in his refusal of the proffered mission, undertaking within a short time to pacify the king and procure his liberation.

By degrees Overbury became indignant at the prolongation of his imprisonment and perhaps suspicious of its cause; and presuming upon the importance, and it may be the infamy, of the secrets with which he had been intrusted, he sometimes ventured to address his patron in a strain more reproachful than supplicatory, demanding his enlargement with urgent importunities, not unaccompanied by menaces of disclosure. But the rancour of the countess was implacable, and Rochester, judging that Overbury was already too much injured to be safely forgiven, consented to take other means to secure his silence. As an indispensable preliminary, he obtained of James the dismissal of the lieutenant of the Tower, and placed in his stead sir Gervase Elways, an instrument fit for the purpose. Mrs. Turner, the agent employed by lady Essex in her flagitious attempts against her husband, was next put in action, and commanded to employ the most effectual of the black arts which she professed, that of poisoning, against the life of the helpless prisoner. She and her associates proceeded at first with caution; judging it less hazardous to destroy the constitution of their destined victim by what might appear the gradual progress of natural disease, than to hurry him off the scene with a suspicious sudden-

ness. But repeated experiments having convinced them of the inefficacy of those accounted slow poisons, and their noble employers expressing impatience under the delay, because the liberation of Overbury could not be much longer deferred, recourse was had to more vigorous measures; and in September 1613, an agonising death, occasioned by the administration of corrosive sublimate, ended the sufferings of this unhappy man, after a lingering affliction of half a year, during which time he was debarred the sight of every friend he had in the world, and exposed without defence to the barbarous attempts incessantly renewed by the wretches who had undertaken his destruction. The event excited just suspicion; especially when it appeared, that the body, negligently wrapped in a sheet, had been hurried to the grave on the very day of the death, without awaiting either the inspection or even arrival of any friend of the deceased, and without the holding of a coroner's inquest.

Under these circumstances, a kinsman of Overbury's was urged to take some steps towards procuring an inquiry; but the rank and power of the offenders defeated the attempt, and notwithstanding the sinister rumors which still prevailed, the affair was suffered to rest for the present, and the abandoned instruments of the murder, with their still more atrocious employers, were left to flatter themselves with the hope that their iniquity had finally escaped the cognisance of human justice.

Meantime every thing proceeded to the wish of the

the guilty lovers. The king, whose base good-nature was insensible of guilt or shame in gratifying any desire of any of his favorites, not only authorised, but promoted with the utmost zeal, the suit for annulling the marriage of the countess of Essex. Twelve commissioners, half of them bishops and half civilians, were appointed for the decision of the cause; and when the archbishop of Canterbury had stated in writing his reasons for not acceding to a sentence which appeared to him equally contrary to law, to scripture, and to good morals, his majesty descended from the decorum of his station so far as to draw up a reply to these objections. But the archbishop himself, the bishop of London, and three of the civilians, remained unconvinced by the royal arguments, and unawed by the extraordinary earnestness with which they were obtruded; and they persisted in publishing their honorable protest against the sentence of nullity which their more obsequious coadjutors suffered themselves to gratify the king and his favorite by pronouncing.

No sooner was this essential point gained, than James, in order to spare the destined bride the mortification of any loss in point of rank, created viscount Rochester earl of Somerset; and in February 1614 their marriage was celebrated within the court itself, with a pomp and prodigality scarcely inferior in any respect to that which had attended the nuptials of the princess. The king in person gave away the bride; a sumptuous mask was exhibited by the courtiers, which we may hope that Jonson had declined

clined the degrading task of composing, since it was the work of some far inferior hand. A similar entertainment was presented by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn, whose repugnance to this contemptible act of sycophancy Bacon claimed for himself the entire merit of vanquishing; and the city gave on the occasion a splendid feast, to which the king, the queen and all the court were invited. The people however beheld this triumph of shameless profligacy with sentiments of indignation and horror, and there was no single transaction of the whole reign which so deeply injured in public opinion either James himself or the bishops, whose disgraceful subserviency was commented upon by the puritans with all the zeal of virtuous reprobation, and all the bitterness of party spirit. A knighthood to the son of one of these right reverend judges appeared to have been part of the price offered for the prelate's compliance with the royal wish; and popular contempt fixed upon him for life the title of sir Nullity Bilson.

The only motive which ever impelled king James to assemble the great council of the nation, urged him to issue writs for the meeting of a new parliament in the spring of 1614. The dread with which the monarch always prepared to meet his people, had been on this occasion much assuaged by the efforts of a band of courtiers headed by the earl of Somerset and called *undertakers*, who had engaged, by a dextrous employment of their interest in different parts of the country, to procure a majority tractable to the wishes of the king. But they had overrated

rated their influence; this house of commons proved even less accommodating than its predecessor; and James, finding that, instead of entering upon the business of supplies, they were preparing to call in question the arbitrary levies of the customs, and his other irregular modes of raising money, dissolved them, with all the precipitation of alarm, before they had time to pass a single bill; whence this obtained the name of the *addle* parliament.

His majesty next proceeded to wreak his vengeance upon the champions of the constitution by throwing into prison a considerable number of the most active members, and sending others against their will to execute some pretended commission in Ireland. This mode of oppression had previously been exercised by Henry VIII., who is recorded to have sent two refractory citizens of London, on their refusal to lend him money, to serve as common soldiers in the same island. On the strength of this precedent, the royal mandate was obeyed by the obnoxious members, either from an erroneous opinion that it was one which could not legally be resisted, or because they dreaded an arbitrary commitment for a contempt, as had been practised in the case of Overbury.

In June 1614 died, in his 75th year, Henry Howard earl of Northampton. This nobleman set out in life the portionless younger son of that victim of tyranny the accomplished earl of Surry, and his career seemed expressly calculated to show the world how much baseness could be made compatible with the noblest birth, the most accomplished education,

and

and talents which had early attracted general regard. It was at Cambridge that he received his education, where, according to bishop Godwin, he was styled "the learnedest amongst the nobility, and the most noble amongst the learned." He is said to have afterwards travelled during several years, and on his return to have vainly sought preferment at court; but the early part of his life is involved in great obscurity, and the first historical notice of him occurs in the year 1582, when, on occasion of the plot for which Francis Throgmorton suffered death, lord Henry Howard is enumerated among the catholic noblemen and gentlemen who were subjected to severe examinations by the privy-council; but nothing appearing against him, he was dismissed: He seems however to have been long and deeply involved in the intrigues of his party. Lady Bacon, in a letter written to her son Anthony in 1595, to caution him against contracting any intimacy with lord Henry, affirms that he is "a subtile papist inwardly and lieth in wait;" adding, that the duke his brother might still have been alive, "but for his practising and still soliciting him, to the duke's ruin;" and that so might also his nephew the earl of Arundel. "Avoid his familiarity," she adds, "as you love the truth and yourself. A very instrument of the Spanish papists. For he, pretending courtesy, worketh mischief perilously. I have long known him and observed him; his workings have been stark naught." And well were these maternal warnings justified by the result. This nobleman has been

been justly stigmatised as "the greatest flatterer and calumniator of the age." He continued to pay most obsequious homage to lord Burleigh, at the same time that, in one of his letters to the earl of Essex, whom he addressed in a style of adulation treading on the very brink of profaneness, he says, speaking of the lord-treasurer and his son Robert, —"If you could once be as fortunate in dragging old Leviathan and his cub, *tortuosum colubrum* as the prophet termeth them, out of this den of mischievous device, the better part of the world would prefer your virtue before that of Hercules." It was long ere his arts of insinuation were able to prevail over the better judgement of queen Elizabeth and the suspicion with which she had good reason to regard the house of Howard: towards the end of her reign, however, he crept into her favor, which he is believed to have repayed, after his own manner, by betraying the seditious counsels of the earl of Essex. To complete his perfidy, he consented to become the instrument of Robert Cecil, whom he seemed to hate, for carrying on his correspondence with James.

This prince, whom the pedantry and the servility of Howard were equally formed to please, received him, immediately on his accession, into favor and office. He rapidly became warden of the Cinque ports, privy-councillor, lord-privy-seal, earl of Northampton; and after the death of Salisbury, the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge was added to his honors. The peculiar fervor of zeal displayed by him in the prosecution of the conspirators in the powder-plot, was doubtless a piece of acting calculated

lated to deceive men as to his true religion, and to cloak the favor which he still found means to extend to the ecclesiastics and other obnoxious members of his own communion. But the popular sentiment appears to have been uniformly just towards him; and it should seem that Somerset, though a minion, did not become generally odious till it was observed, that Northampton had succeeded the unfortunate Overbury in his confidence, and that the authority of the favorite was employed in screening priests and jesuits from the penalties of the law, and enabling them to propagate their tenets with impunity.

It is said, that a very short time before the death of Northampton, he prosecuted a person in the star-chamber for calling him a papist, who would have been punished according to the tender mercies of that tribunal, had not Abbot produced a letter addressed by the earl to cardinal Bellarmine, in which he declared, that notwithstanding the temper of the times compelled him to dissemble, and the king himself urged him to turn protestant, his heart was still with the catholics, and he should be ready to aid them in any attempt. To the shock of this exposure, his almost immediate death is imputed by the author who relates the circumstance; but a letter of sir Henry Wotton's proves beyond dispute that he sunk under the consequences of a surgical operation. The event however was extremely opportune, since it preserved him from the additional infamy, as well as danger, with which he was menaced by the discovery of Overbury's murder. The conduct pursued by him in this black transaction, and in the intrigue

trigue from which it sprung, stands unrivalled in the annals of profligacy and baseness. From the letters read on the trials of the surviving criminals, it appeared, that, for the sake of ingratiating himself with the favorite, this monster had consented to become the agent of his niece in her adulterous commerce with Somerset, that he had been a principal promoter of the iniquitous divorce, in which he knew that lady Essex could only prevail by shameless perjuries and by the subornation of witnesses; and finally, that he was not only privy to the poisoning of Overbury, but actively instrumental in the steps taken for the concealment of the crime and the security of the perpetrators. Two of his letters to the lieutenant of the Tower, giving urgent directions for the speedy and secret burial of the body, under the guise of expressing the anxiety of the earl of Somerset that all funeral honors should be bestowed on his unfortunate friend, whose deliverance he was about to make an extraordinary effort to obtain,—may be regarded as forming one of the most atrocious records of crafty villainy in our language.

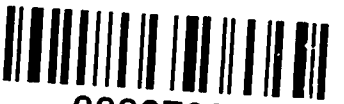
Northampton was the author of some political and some devotional pieces, written in the same dark and pedantic style which he also employed in his numerous letters of business and of compliment, and his piety is much commended by certain writers, because, dying unmarried, he bequeathed a large portion of his ill-gotten wealth to charitable purposes.

A second visit of the jovial king of Denmark in 1614, gave occasion to a fresh round of brilliant festivities; but it must be confessed that the hospitality

tality of James was not thrown away upon this monarch, who was wealthy, and who appears to have accommodated his royal brother-in-law with the loan, or gift, of very considerable sums of money, which no scruples of pride or delicacy restrained his Britannic majesty from accepting. James, in fact, was in no situation to listen to either, where pecuniary assistance was concerned. His embarrassments augmented daily, and, after revolving various projects, it was by a benevolence that he determined to supply the place of a parliamentary grant; for which method of illegal exaction he had the example of one or two of the most arbitrary of his predecessors. The sheriffs of the counties were ordered to demand of all persons of substance within their respective limits, a free gift proportioned to the necessities of the king; and they were at the same time instructed carefully to return to the privy-council the names of such as should refuse to contribute, who were thus marked out for the perpetual hostility of the court. But the rising spirit of resistance to arbitrary power impeded in a great degree the success of this attempt. James gained by it little more, it is said, than 50,000*l.*, and, in return, he submitted to lose for ever the confidence and the affections of the great body of the English nation.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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